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HUME'S
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

ABRIDGED,

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO

THE REVOLUTION IN 1688.

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND YOUNG GENTLEMEN.

BY GEORGE BUIST, V. D. M.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE BRITISH YOUTH,

GENTLEMEN,

You are now in that season of life intended by nature for the acquisition of useful knowledge, such as may fit you for acting an honourable part as members of society. To you your country looks with hope and expectation. Now is the time for acquiring those accomplishments which may enable you to realize the hopes entertained of you. The present opportunity, if lost, will never return. Your minds are now like soft wax, which easily receives the impressions made upon it; but the impressions now made, whether good or bad, remain fixed, and will continue with you through life.

Among

Among the various objects that now require your attention, not the least important is HISTORY; and, in this branch of study, the history of your own country certainly claims your first notice. There are, however, difficulties attending the study of a voluminous history, which often deter many of your age from the attempt. You have not yet learned to discriminate the leading and most important facts, such as are most proper to be committed to memory; your attention is distracted by the number and variety of objects that occur in the page of the historian; and thus, while you grasp at every thing, you fail of making those attainments which are suited to your strength and capacity. Neither is it to be expected from you, that you should yet enter into the laborious investigations of the politician, or into disquisitions upon abstruse points; your present object ought to be that of storing your memories with the principal facts and dates of the history of your country, both that you may thus acquaint yourselves with a subject,

ject, of which it is disgraceful for a polite scholar to be ignorant ; and that, when you come afterwards to study history more particularly, you may not enter on a field altogether unexplored.

It is with these views that the present work is offered to your acceptance. It is unnecessary for me to inform you of the high estimation in which the history, of which this is an abridgment, is held by all judges of historical composition. Of this you will be fully sensible, when your judgment being matured, and your taste formed, you can enter into the views of the author ; observe his judicious selection of facts, trace the clearness of his reasonings and deductions, and admire the beauty and elegance of his style. My task has been such as admits of no claim to merit, except that which is annexed to the desire of facilitating to youth the acquisition of useful knowledge ; and if this end is in any degree attained,

attained, my intentions are fulfilled. I shall
then rest satisfied, and say with the poet,

In tenui labor, at tenui non gloria.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your sincere well wisher,

And very humble servant,

THE EDITOR.

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AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF
HUME'S HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

FROM THE INVASION OF CÆSAR TO THE UNION OF
THE SAXON HEPTARCHY UNDER EGBERT.

THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

THE first inhabitants of Britain were, as appears from their manners, government, and superstition, a tribe of Gauls or Celtæ. Before the age of Cæsar, the south-east parts of the island were acquainted with agriculture, and had made considerable progress in civilization; but the other inhabitants still lived in the state of hunters or of shepherds. They were divided into many small nations or tribes: each of these was governed by a chieftain, whose authority, however, was not despotic. War was the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition among the people.

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The religion of the Britons formed a considerable part of their government; and the druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority among them. No superstition was ever more terrible than that of the druids. They not only inflicted severe penalties in this world, but also inculcated the transmigration of souls, and thereby extended their authority as far as the fears of their votaries. The veil of mystery and obscurity was thrown over their religion: they practised their rites in dark groves, or in other secret recesses; and such an ascendant had their idolatrous worship attained over mankind, that the Romans, after their conquest, were, contrary to their usual custom, obliged to abolish it by penal statutes.

The Britons had long remained in this state, when Cæsar cast his eye on their island. Ambitious of carrying the Roman arms into a new world, he determined to invade Britain. After some resistance from the natives, he landed, as is supposed, at Deal; but, after gaining several advantages, and receiving promises of submission, he was constrained, by the necessity of his affairs, and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces. He returned next summer with a greater force; discomfited the Britons, who had united under Cassivellaunus, and, after establishing a nominal, rather than real authority in this island, again returned with his army into Gaul. The civil wars which ensued, saved the Britons from that yoke which was ready to be imposed upon them. For almost a century, they enjoyed their liberty unmolested; when, in the reign of Claudius, the Romans began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. An army was sent over under the command of Plautius; and Claudius himself made a journey into Britain, and received the submission of several states. The other Britons, however, under Caratacus, made an obstinate resistance; till at last this general was defeated by Ostorius Scapula, and sent prisoner to Rome.

The Britons were still unsubdued; and Suetonius Paulinus, who in the reign of Nero was invested with the command, prepared to signalize himself in this
field

field of glory. He attacked and destroyed Mona, now Anglesey, which was the chief seat of the druids, and the centre of their superstition. But, in his absence, the Britons, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, had revolted from the Roman yoke, attacked their settlements, and put them every where to the sword. This cruelty, however, was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle, where 80,000 Britons are said to have perished; and Boadicea, rather than fall into the victor's hands, put an end to her life by poison.

But the general who finally established the Roman dominion in Britain was Agricola, who governed it under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, who pierced into the mountains of Caledonia, defeated the natives in a decisive action, which they fought under Galgacus, and reduced to subjection every state in the southern parts of the island. In order to secure them from the incursions of their northern neighbours, he fixed a chain of garrisons between the friths of Clyde and Forth; he introduced among them laws and civility, taught them the arts and conveniencies of life, and instructed them in letters and science. The vanquished inhabitants quietly submitted to the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated as a part of the Roman empire. Adrian, who visited this island, built a rampart between the river Tyne and the Solway Frith for the defence of the frontiers: Another was erected under Antoninus Pius, in the place where Agricola had formerly established his garrisons; and Severus added new fortifications to the wall of Adrian.

For many years after this period, little mention is made of the affairs of Britain by any historian. The time was now come when that enormous fabric, which had diffused slavery and oppression, together with peace and civility, over a considerable part of the globe, attacked on all sides by the barbarians, was approaching towards its dissolution. The legions which defended Britain, a remote province, and little valued by the Romans, were carried over to the pro-

tection of Gaul and Italy. In this defenceless state, the effeminate inhabitants were attacked by their neighbours the Scots and Picts. Supplications were made to Rome, and a legion was sent over to their protection. The invaders were defeated, and driven within their ancient limits. But the retreat of the legion brought on a new invasion. The Britons again made application to Rome, and again obtained assistance. But the Romans, reduced to extremities at home, at length informed them, that they must no longer look to them for succour; and, after assisting them to erect anew the wall of Severus, bade them a final adieu about the year 448.

The Picts and Scots, finding that the Romans had finally relinquished Britain, attacked the northern wall which the Britons were unable to defend, and carried devastation and ruin along with them. Recourse was a third time had to Rome, but no succour could be obtained. The Britons, thus reduced to despair, torn by religious dissensions, and labouring under domestic evils, followed the counsels of Vortigern their prince, and sent into Germany a deputation to invite over the Saxons for their protection and assistance.

THE SAXONS.

THE Saxons were one of the most warlike and powerful of the German tribes; and, having diffused themselves from the northern parts of Germany, all along the sea-coast, from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland, they had long infested by their piracies the eastern and southern parts of Britain, and the northern of Gaul. It was an acceptable circumstance, therefore, that the deputies of the Britons appeared among them, and prompted them to undertake an enterprise, to which they were of themselves sufficiently inclined.

Hengist

Hengist and Horfa, two brothers, who were reputed to be descended from Woden, one of the German divinities, landed with 1600 men in the isle of Thanet, about the year 449 or 450, and immediately marched to the defence of the Britons against the Scots and Picts, who were unable to resist the valour of these auxiliaries. The Saxons, in consequence of this easy victory, began to think of turning their arms against their degenerate allies. Intelligence was sent to Saxony of the riches and fertility of Britain; and Hengist and Horfa were soon reinforced with 5000 men, who came over in hopes of sharing in the spoil. The Saxons soon pulled off the mask, and joining the Scots and Picts, proceeded to open hostility against the Britons, who were thus necessitated to take arms in their own defence. Vortigern was deposed, and the command given to his son Vortimer. Many battles were fought, in which success was commonly on the side of the Saxons. By the death of Horfa, in a battle near Ailsford, the sole command of his countrymen was left to Hengist, who being continually reinforced by fresh numbers from Germany, carried devastation into the most remote corners of Britain. Wherever he marched with his victorious forces, he spared neither age, nor sex, nor condition. The people fled to the mountains and deserts, or were glad to accept life and servitude under the victors. Some of them took shelter in Armorica, where being hospitably received, they settled in great numbers, and gave the country the name of Brittany.

Vortimer died; and Vortigern being restored to the throne, accepted of a banquet from Hengist, at Stonehenge, where 300 of his nobility were treacherously slaughtered, and himself detained captive. After the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius, a Briton, though of Roman descent, endeavoured, not without success, to unite his countrymen in their resistance against the Saxons. Hengist, however, still maintained his ground: He called over a new tribe of Saxons, under the command of Oeta and Ebissa, and settled them in Nor-

thumberland. He laid the foundation of the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the county of that name, Middlesex, Essex, and part of Surry. He fixed his royal seat at Canterbury, where he governed forty years, and died in or near the year 488, leaving his dominions to his posterity.

The success of Hengist excited the avidity of the other northern Germans, who were composed chiefly of three tribes, Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, and who all passed under the common appellation, sometimes of Saxons, sometimes of Angles.

The first Saxon state, after that of Kent, which was established in Britain, was the kingdom of South Saxony. This was founded by Ella, a Saxon chief, who brought over an army from Germany in 447, and who, after considerable resistance from the ancient inhabitants, extended his dominion over Sussex and a great part of Surry.

Another tribe of Saxons landed in 495, under the command of Cerdic, and of his son Kenric. These met with such a vigorous resistance, that they were obliged to call for the assistance of their countrymen from the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, and also from Germany. Cerdic, strengthened by these forces, fought, in the year 508, a great battle with the Britons, commanded by Nassen Leod, who, with 5000 of his army, perished in the field. The war, however, was still continued: The Britons, in their extremity, applied for assistance to the celebrated Arthur, prince of the Silures. This general raised the siege of Banefdowne, near Bath, which Cerdic had commenced, but was unable to wrest from him the conquests he had already made. He, and his son Kenric, who succeeded him, established the kingdom of Wessex, over the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the isle of Wight, and left their dominions to their posterity.

While the Saxons made this progress in the South, their countrymen were no less active in other quarters. Uffa established the kingdom of East Anglia, which

which comprehended the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in 575; Crida, that of Mercia, extending over all the middle counties, in 585; and Erkenwin that of Essex, which comprehended Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire, nearly about the same time.

The Saxons planted in Northumberland by Hengist had met with an obstinate resistance, and had made but small progress in subduing the inhabitants. In 547, Ida, a Saxon prince, brought over a reinforcement from Germany to their assistance. He entirely subdued the county now called Northumberland, the bishopric of Durham, as well as some of the south-east counties of Scotland, and he assumed the crown under the title of king of Bernicia. Nearly about the same time, Ælla, another Saxon prince, having conquered Lancashire, and the greater part of Yorkshire, received the appellation of king of Deiri. These two kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid, grandson of Ida, who married the daughter of Ælla, and, expelling her brother Edwin, established one of the most powerful of the Saxon kingdoms, by the title of Northumberland.

THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

THUS was established, after a violent struggle of near an hundred and fifty years, the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms in Britain. Few conquests have been more ruinous than that of the Saxons. The ancient Britons were either massacred, or reduced to the most abject slavery, or shut up in the barren countries of Cornwall and Wales. The cities and villages were destroyed, and every thing was thrown back into ancient barbarism.

The history of the Saxon Heptarchy presents no event which can be at all interesting to the reader. It

is nothing but a series of assassinations, disputed successions, petty wars between the different states, and contests concerning the supreme authority over the whole. At length, near four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain, all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were united into one great state, under Egbert, king of Wessex, who had served in the armies of Charlemagne, the ablest and most generous prince who had appeared in Europe during several ages.

The only thing worthy of notice, in this dark period, is the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons. For this the way was paved by the marriage of Ethelbert king of Kent to Bertha a Christian princess, and daughter of Caribert king of Paris, one of the descendants of Clovis. In consequence of this, Gregory, surnamed the Great, then Roman pontiff, began to entertain hopes of converting the British Saxons to the Christian faith, and pitched on one Augustine, a Roman monk, who, with forty associates, arrived in Kent in the year 597. He was favourably received, and began to preach the gospel with success to the Saxons. Numbers of the Kentish men were baptized, and the king himself was persuaded to submit to that rite of Christianity. The marriage of Ethelbert's daughter to Edwin, king of Northumberland, was the means of introducing Christianity into that kingdom. But that species of Christianity, which was at length diffused throughout all the Saxon states, was of a very corrupted nature. It came through the impure channels of Rome, and inculcated an entire submission to that see. Pilgrimages, penances, endowments of monasteries, and bounty to the church, were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues. Disputes were carried on between the British and Romish priests, concerning the day of keeping Easter, and other ceremonies of no importance. After having lasted more than a century, they were ended by the entire prevalence of the Romish over the British ritual.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS, AND THE INVASIONS OF THE DANES.

EGBERT. 827.

ENGLAND was hardly united into one kingdom under Egbert, and a prospect opened up of future tranquility, before a new race of invaders made their appearance, committed the most barbarous ravages, and at last reduced the Anglo-Saxons to the most grievous servitude. These were the Danes, who, after several previous incursions to acquire a knowledge of the country, disembarked from thirty-five ships, six years after Egbert had established his monarchy over England, but were encountered by that prince at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, and forced to retreat to their ships. Finding they would meet with a vigorous resistance, they entered into an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall, landed in that country two years after, but were met at Hengesdown by Egbert, and totally defeated. While England remained in this state of anxiety and danger, Egbert unfortunately died, and left the government to his son Ethelwolf, a prince of inferior abilities.

ETHELWOLF. 838.

ETHELWOLF began his reign with delivering over to his eldest son Athelstan the provinces of Essex, Kent,

and Suffex. In the beginning of it, several incursions were made by the Danes, who, though generally defeated and repulsed, gained their end of committing spoil upon the country, and carrying off their booty. Every part of England was held in continual alarm, and the inhabitants of one county durst not stir to give assistance to those of another. The enemy at length attacked it in so numerous a body, as seemed to threaten it with universal subjection. A party of them ventured to take up their winter quarters in the isle of Thanet, from which, after receiving a strong reinforcement of their countrymen, they extended their ravages in the following spring.

This unsettled state of England hindered not Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, where he passed a twelvemonth in exercises of devotion; but on his return he met with an opposition which he little looked for. His eldest son, Athelstan, was dead; and Ethelbald, his second son, formed, in concert with many of the nobles, the design of excluding his father from the throne. To avoid a civil war, Ethelwolf yielded to the greater part of his son's pretensions, and agreed to a partition of the kingdom. Under the reign of this weak and superstitious prince, the clergy greatly extended their authority, and seized the favourable opportunity of getting possession of the tithes.

ETHELBALD AND ETHELBERT. 857.

ETHELWOLF lived only two years after the grant made to his son; and, by his will, he shared England between his two eldest sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert. The former, who was a profligate prince, reigned but a short time, and Ethelbert, his brother, succeeding to the government, behaved himself, during a reign of five years, in a manner more worthy of his birth and station.

ETHERED.

ETHERED. 866.

ETHELBERT was succeeded by his brother Ethered, who, during his whole reign, enjoyed no tranquility from the Danes. They landed among the East Angles, penetrated into the inland part of the country, and threatened the kingdom with final subjection. They were defeated at Alton in Berkshire, but gained the victory in another battle fought at Basing. Amid these confusions, Ethered died of a wound which he had received in an action with the Danes, and left the inheritance of his cares and misfortunes, rather than of his grandeur, to his brother Alfred, a prince of great virtues and shining talents.

ALFRED. 871.

ALFRED, who has justly obtained the title of *Great*, and who was called to the throne in preference to the children of Ethered, had scarcely buried his brother, when he was obliged to take the field against the Danes. The west Saxons were now the only remaining power in England; and, though supported by the vigour and abilities of Alfred, they were unable to sustain the efforts of those ravagers who from all quarters invaded them. Alfred in one year fought eight battles with the enemy, and reduced them to the utmost extremity. But the constant arrival of new swarms of Danes, which incessantly poured forth from the fertile regions of the north, quite disheartened the Saxons, and made them consider their contest for victory as altogether hopeless. Some left their country; others submitted to the conquerors; and Alfred himself was obliged to abandon his throne, and to seek shelter in the meanest disguises from the pursuit and fury of his

A 6. enemies.

enemies. After concealing himself for some time in the house of a neat-herd, he found the search of the enemy become more remiss, collected some of his retainers, and retired into the centre of a bog in Somersetshire, where finding two acres of firm ground, he built a habitation, secure by its fortifications, and still more by the morasses and forests with which it was every way environed. He thence made frequent and unexpected sallies on the Danes; he subsisted himself and his followers by plunder; and, from small successes, he opened their minds to hope, that, notwithstanding his present low condition, more important victories might at length attend his valour.

In the mean time, Oddune, earl of Devonshire, had attacked and routed a body of Danes, killed Hubba their leader, and got possession of the *Reafen*, or enchanted standard, in which the Danes put great confidence: This symptom of successful resistance called Alfred from his retreat, where he had lain concealed, but not inactive, during a twelvemonth. After inspecting, under the disguise of a harper, the situation of the enemy, he secretly assembled his subjects, attacked the Danes, and put them to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routed army were besieged by the victor in a fortified camp, to which they had fled; and, being reduced to extremity, they offered to submit on any conditions. Alfred required their conversion to Christianity, and settled them in East-Anglia and Northumberland, which they had desolated by their incursions. Some smaller bodies were distributed into the five cities of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, who were thence called the *Fif*, or *Five-burgers*; and Alfred was for several years free from the inroads of those barbarians.

The king employed this interval of tranquility in restoring order to the state, and in providing for the defence of the kingdom. He established a militia, provided himself with a naval force, and stationed his armed vessels around the island. By these means he maintained the kingdom for several years in safety and

and tranquility. At last, Hastings, the famous Danish chief, after having ravaged the provinces of France, appeared off Kent with a fleet of 330 sail. Alfred defeated him in several engagements, and obliged him to depart the kingdom. He reduced his Danish subjects, who had taken up arms on the invasion of their countrymen: he forced the Welsh to acknowledge his authority; and having by justice, prudence, and valour, established his sovereignty, from the British channel to the frontiers of Scotland, he died in the vigour of his age, and the full strength of his faculties, after a glorious reign of twenty nine years and a half.

All England was divided by Alfred into counties; these counties were subdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings, or societies consisting each of ten members, which were answerable for the behaviour of their members. He framed a body of laws, which, though now lost, long served as the basis of English jurisprudence, and is generally deemed the origin of what is denominated the common law. Juries are likewise supposed to have taken their rise during the reign of this prince. Alfred encouraged learning and learned men, both by his own example, and by the liberal establishments which he made in their behalf. He founded, or at least repaired the university of Oxford, and endowed it with great revenues and privileges. He enjoined by law every freeholder to send his children to school, and gave preferment, both in church and state, to such only as had made some proficiency in knowledge. By these means, he contributed to dispel that ignorance which formerly prevailed in England; and which was so great, that at his accession, not one person could be found, south of the Thames, who could so much as interpret the Latin service. He introduced and encouraged arts and manufactures of every kind; prompted men to betake themselves to navigation and commerce; and employed a number of workmen in rebuilding the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries. Notwithstanding the urgency and multiplicity

city of his affairs, he neglected not the means of his own improvement. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: One was employed in sleep, and the refection of the body by diet and exercise; another in the despatch of business; and a third in study and devotion. The character of Alfred is the most perfect to be met with in history. Both living and dead, he was regarded by foreigners, no less than by his own subjects, as the greatest prince after Charlemagne that had appeared in Europe during several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that had ever adorned the annals of any nation.

EDWARD. 901.

ALFRED was succeeded by his son Edward, commonly called the Elder, whose right to the crown was disputed by Ethelwald, son of Ethelbert, the elder brother of Alfred. This competitor having perished in a battle fought with the Kentishmen at Bury, Edward had leisure to turn his arms against the Northumbrians, the East Angles, and the Five Burgers, who were constantly revolting and ravaging the country; and against the foreign Danes who invaded him from Normandy and Brittany. After a reign of continued and successful action, he died A. D. 925, and left his kingdom to Athelstan, his natural son.

ATHELSTAN. 925.

THE preference of Athelstan to Edward's younger and legitimate children, occasioned some discontents at his succession; but these were soon removed, and Athelstan was established in the sovereignty. This prince

prince, finding that the Northumbrians bore the English yoke with impatience, thought it prudent to confer on Sithric, a Danish nobleman, the title of King, and to attach him to his interests, by giving him his sister in marriage. Sithric died in a twelvemonth after; and Anlaf and Godfrid, his sons by a former marriage, assumed the sovereignty, without waiting for Athelstan's consent. They were soon expelled; and the former took shelter in Ireland, and the latter in Scotland. Athelstan entered Scotland with an army, and reduced Constantine, the Scottish prince, to such extremity, that he was content to preserve his crown by making submissions to the enemy. But Constantine afterwards entering into a confederacy with Anlaf, and with some Welsh princes, these allies made an irruption into England with a great army. Athelstan collecting his forces, defeated them in a general engagement. Before the battle, Anlaf employed the stratagem of Alfred, and was admitted into the English camp, under the disguise of a minstrel. But being detected by a soldier, who had formerly served under him, and who, having been struck with some suspicion, was engaged by curiosity to observe his motions after he left the camp, his designs were in part frustrated. The king removed his station in the camp; and, at the approach of night, a bishop who had come that evening with a reinforcement, and who occupied the place, was put to death before he had time to prepare for his defence.

After this battle, in which Constantine and Anlaf made their escape with difficulty, Athelstan enjoyed his crown in tranquility: He died at Gloucester, after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by Edmund, his legitimate brother.

EDMUND.

EDMUND. 941.

THIS prince conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred that territory on Malcolm king of Scotland, on condition that he should do him homage for it. His reign was short, having been murdered by a notorious robber, who, though sentenced to banishment, had yet the boldness to enter the hall where the king dined. Enraged at his insolence, Edmund ordered him to leave the room; and upon his refusing to obey, leaped on him himself, and seized him by the hair: But the ruffian drew his dagger, and gave the king a wound, of which he immediately expired.

EDRED. 946.

EDMUND's children being so young that they were incapable of governing the kingdom, he was succeeded by his brother Edred, whose reign, like those of his predecessors, was infested by the rebellions of the Northumbrian Danes. This prince, whose character was strongly inclined to superstition, had blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of St Dunstan, the famous abbot of Glastonbury, who, by various acts of mortification, had obtained the reputation of great sanctity with the people, who was advanced by Edred to the highest offices, and who covered, under the appearance of devotion, the most violent and most insolent ambition. About this time, the laws of the monastic life had been rendered more severe, and an attempt had been made by the Roman pontiff to introduce celibacy among the clergy. St Dunstan, assisted by the monks, the constant and fit tools of the Roman

Roman see, and supported by Edred, seconded these views, and endeavoured to introduce the intended reformation into England. The monks were every where vehement against the secular clergy; where other topics of defamation were wanting, their marriage became a sure subject of invective; and their wives received the name of *Concubine*, or other more opprobrious appellation. But their progress was somewhat retarded by the death of Edred, their partizan, who was succeeded by his nephew, Edwy, the son of Edmund.

EDWY. 955.

THIS prince, who was very young at the time of his accession, indulged a tender affection for Elgiva, a beautiful princess of the royal blood, and ventured to espouse her, though she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. This gave great offence to the monks; and on the day of his coronation, when Edwy had retired into the queen's apartment, he was torn from her arms by St Dunstan, and pushed back into the banquet of the nobles. In revenge for this public insult, Edwy accused St Dunstan of malversation in his office, and banished him the kingdom. But his cabal was not inactive during his absence: The queen, after the most terrible cruelty and ill usage, was put to death; Edgar, the younger brother of Edwy, a boy of thirteen years of age, was placed at the head of a rebellion, which was set on foot against him. St Dunstan returned into England, and took upon him the government of Edgar and his party. But the death of Edwy, which happened soon after, freed his enemies from all further inquietude, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the throne.

EDGAR.

EDGAR. 958.

THIS prince, who mounted the throne in such early youth, soon discovered an excellent capacity, and his reign is one of the most fortunate to be met with in the ancient English history. He maintained a powerful army and navy, which overawed both the foreign and domestic Danes. The neighbouring states were reduced to pay submission to him; and his barge is said to have been rowed by eight of his tributary princes.

But the chief means by which Edgar maintained his authority, was the paying of court to the monks; who, by their pretensions to superior sanctity, had gained an ascendant over the people. He completed the great work of placing the new order of monks in all the convents: He called a meeting of the prelates, and the heads of the religious orders, and inveighed severely against the licentious and immoral lives of the secular clergy; and he indulged the prevailing party in pretensions, which afterwards proved dangerous to his successors. By these means, Edgar has received the highest panegyrics from the monks, not only as a great prince, but as a saint and a man of virtue. History, however, has preserved some facts of his life, which betray his own hypocrisy, and the interested spirit of his partizans, in bestowing such eulogies on his piety. Upon one occasion, he broke into a convent, carried off a nun by force, and even committed violence on her person. For this he was obliged to abstain from wearing his crown for seven years. How different this from the fate of Edwy, and his unfortunate queen! Passing by Andover, he was inflamed with love to the daughter of a nobleman, in whose house he lodged, and he resolved by any expedient to gratify his passion. Proposals were made to the mother, who feigned submission to his will, but

but secretly ordered a waiting-maid to steal into the king's bed, after all the company should be retired to rest. Edgar passed the night so much to his satisfaction, that he expressed no displeasure on account of the fraud; and Elfreda (for that was the name of the maid) became his favourite mistress. The circumstances of his marriage with Elfrida, daughter and heiress of the earl of Devonshire, were more singular and more criminal. Having detected the artifice of earl Athelwold, who had obtained her to himself in marriage, by giving a false report of her beauty, he seduced the earl into a wood, where, under pretence of hunting, he stabbed him with his own hand, and soon after publicly espoused Elfrida.

This reign was remarkable for the settlement of a great number of foreigners in England, who were allured by the reputation of Edgar to visit his court, and who diffused civilization and improvement among the barbarous natives. Another remarkable incident of this reign was the extirpation of wolves from England: Edgar having changed the tribute of money imposed on the Welsh princes by Athelstan into an annual tribute of three hundred heads of wolves, which produced such diligence in hunting them, that the animal has not been seen since in this island.

EDWARD THE MARTYR. 976.

THE succession of Edward, his son by his first marriage, was opposed by Elfrida, who had a son, Ethelred, seven years old, whom she attempted to raise to the throne; but being supported by St Dunstan and the monks, the whole kingdom soon submitted to his authority. Nothing memorable happened during his reign, which lasted only four years: his death alone was memorable and tragical. He was hunting one day near Corfe-Castle, where Elfrida, his step-mother

ther resided, and took the opportunity of paying her a visit unattended by any of his retinue. Having called for some liquor, while he was holding the cup to his head, he was stabbed behind by one of the servants of Elfrida, who had been employed for that purpose. The prince put spurs to his horse; but becoming faint by loss of blood, he fell from his saddle, his foot stuck in the stirrup, and he was dragged along till he expired. His tragical death begat such compassion among the people, that they believed miracles to be wrought at his tomb, and gave him the appellation of Martyr.

ETHELRED. 978.

THE Danes, encouraged by the weakness and minority of Ethelred, again invaded England; and this prince, instead of rousing his people to defend themselves, bribed the enemy to depart the kingdom, by paying them the sum of ten thousand pounds. This shameful expedient only invited new assailants; the Danes appeared next year off the coast; and though the English, sensible of their folly, had collected a fleet able to give them battle, they escaped with impunity in consequence of the treachery of Alfrie, Duke of Mercia, who, by his repeated perfidy, brought innumerable calamities on his country.

The Northern invaders, now well acquainted with the defenceless state of England, made a powerful descent under Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olave, king of Norway; defeated the English in a battle, and spread on all sides their destructive ravages. Ethelred and his nobles had recourse to the former expedient, and agreed to pay the northern princes the sum of 16,000 l., on condition of their departing the kingdom.

This composition brought only a short interval to the miseries of the English: They were again attacked,

ed, and offered to buy peace, by paying the enemy a large sum of money. The ravagers rose in their demands, and required the payment of 24,000*l.*, to which the English were so mean and imprudent as to submit. Besides receiving this sum, the Danes were induced to depart the kingdom by an invitation from their countrymen in Normandy, who found their assistance necessary to enable them to defend their settlement in that country. Ethelred being a widower, was this year married to Emma, sister to Richard II. Duke of Normandy.

In the following year happened the famous massacre of the Danes, who were all butchered in the most cruel manner on the same day ; an expedient worthy only of a weak prince like Ethelred, and which was soon avenged by Sweyn king of Denmark, who invaded England with a powerful fleet and army. The open country was laid waste ; the towns were ransacked and burnt ; and Ethelred, repeatedly betrayed by his generals, was twice compelled to purchase peace at a very high ransom. But the Danes disregarded all engagements, and continued their hostilities, till the English nobility found no resource but in submission, and Ethelred, with his Queen Emma, and her two sons, were at length obliged to take refuge at the Court of Normandy. On the death of Sweyn, which happened in six weeks after, they were recalled to England : But the English found in Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, an enemy no less terrible than the prince from whom they had been so lately delivered. After a voyage to Denmark, for the purpose of settling his affairs, he returned to England, and continued his depredations. Edmund, the king's eldest son, assembled an army to oppose him ; but, after making some expeditions into the north, which had entirely submitted to Canute, he retired to London, where he found every thing in confusion by the death of the king, who expired after an inglorious reign of thirty-five years.

EDMOND

EDMOND IRONSIDE. 1016.

His successor, Edmond Ironside, possessed courage and abilities, sufficient to have prevented his country from sinking into those calamities, but not to raise it from that abyss of misery into which it had already fallen. After various battles fought between the English and Danes, the nobility of both parties obliged their kings to come to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern division; the southern parts were left to Edmond, who being murdered in a month after by two of his chamberlains, made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the Crown of England.

CANUTE. 1017.

Edwin and Edward, the two sons of Edmond, were sent by the Danish monarch, who was immediately put in possession of the government, to his ally the king of Sweden, whom he desired, as soon as they arrived at his Court, to free him by their death from all farther anxiety. But the Swedish Monarch, too generous to comply with his request, sent them to the king of Hungary, who gave his sister-in-law in marriage to Edward the younger; by her he had Edgar Atheling, Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland, and Christina, who retired into a convent.

The removal of Edmond's children into so remote a country, was, next to their death, regarded by Canute as the greatest security to his government: He had no farther anxiety, except with regard to Alfred and Edward, who were supported by their uncle Richard Duke of Normandy. To acquire the friendship
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of the Duke, he paid his addresses to Queen Emma, and received her in marriage, after promising that he would leave the children whom he should have by her in possession of the Crown of England. Canute having settled his power in England, beyond all danger of a revolution, made a voyage to Denmark; defeated the king of Sweden; expelled Olaus king of Norway, and took possession of his kingdom; performed a pilgrimage to Rome; and compelled Malcolm king of Scotland to do homage for Cumberland. Canute died in four years after this expedition. This great and powerful monarch, who could not fail of meeting with adulation from his courtiers, one day ordered his chair to be set on the sea-shore, while the tide was rising, and as the waters approached, he commanded them to retire; but, the sea still advancing, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them, that every creature in the universe was feeble and impotent, and that power resided with one being alone, in whose hands were all the elements of nature, who could say to the ocean, *thus far shalt thou go, and no farther*, and who could level with his rod the most towering piles of human pride and ambition.

HAROLD HAREFOOT. 1035.

HARDICANUTE, whom Emma bore to Canute, being in Denmark at the time of his father's death, Harold, his son by another marriage, succeeded to the throne. Hardicanute, however, had the suffrages of the English; he was favoured by the treaty with the Duke of Normandy, and his party was espoused by Earl Godwin, the most powerful nobleman in the kingdom. To prevent a civil war, a compromise was made, and it was agreed that Harold should enjoy all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute. Till this prince should

should appear, Emma fixed her residence at Winchester, where she lived in power and splendour, and was visited by her sons Alfred and Edward. But Earl Godwin being gained over by Harold, Alfred was treacherously set upon by that nobleman's followers, and, his eyes being put out, conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after. Emma and Edward, apprized of the fate which awaited them, fled beyond sea.

HARDICANUTE. 1039.

AFTER a reign of four years, wherein nothing else memorable occurred, Harold died A. D. 1039. little regretted by his subjects, and left the succession open to Hardicanute. The government of this prince was violent, but of short duration. He died two years after his accession, at the nuptials of a Danish lord which he had honoured with his presence.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. 1041.

EDWARD, the son of Ethelred by Emma, who was in England at the king's death, and who was supported by Earl Godwin and all the English, ascended the throne. The divided and dispirited Danes made little opposition; the mildness of his character soon reconciled them to his administration, and the distinction between the two nations gradually disappeared. Edward began his reign with resuming all the grants of his immediate predecessors; but, as the loss fell chiefly on the Danes, the English were rather pleased to see them reduced to their primitive poverty. His severity towards his mother, whom he confined dur-

during the remainder of her life, in a monastery at Winchester, was exposed to more censure, but, as she was accused of neglecting him and his brother during their adverse fortune, his conduct did not meet with universal disapprobation.

The favour shewn by the king, who was educated in Normandy, to the natives of that country, his conferring on them offices and places of trust, and the encouragement given to their language, laws, and customs, excited the jealousy of the English, particularly of Earl Godwin. The great authority of this nobleman's family was supported by immense possessions, and powerful alliances. His haughty temper made him often forget the respect due to his prince, and the recollection of past injuries contributed to increase Edward's animosity against a nobleman already too powerful. This animosity soon broke out into action. A fray having happened between the inhabitants of Dover, and the train of Eustace, count of Bologne, the king gave orders to Earl Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to punish the inhabitants for the crime. But Godwin, who desired rather to encourage than repress the popular discontent against foreigners, refused obedience, and, secretly assembling a great army, obliged the king to apply for protection to Siward, duke of Northumberland, and Leofric duke of Mercia, whose jealousy of Godwin's greatness, as well as their duty to the king, engaged them to defend him in this extremity. They assembled their followers; the English hastened from all quarters to defend their sovereign; Godwin and his sons had recourse to flight; and their estates were confiscated. But having, under the protection of the Earl of Flanders, equipped a considerable fleet, he entered the Thames, and, appearing before London, threw every thing into confusion. The king hearkened to terms of accomodation, and Godwin was restored to his former power. This nobleman died soon after, and was succeeded in the greatest part of his possessions and offices by his son Harold, who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father,

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and was superior to him in address, in insinuation, and in virtue.

The king, now worn out with cares and infirmities, and having no issue, began to think of appointing a successor. His nephew Edward, whom, together with his children, he had brought from Hungary, died in a few days after his arrival in England. The great power and ambition of Harold had tempted him to think of obtaining possession of the throne on the first vacancy; but the animosity which Edward had long borne to Earl Godwin made him averse to the succession of his son, and he secretly cast his eyes towards his kinsman William duke of Normandy.

This famous prince was the son of Robert duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise. His father, who undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, made the states of the duchy swear allegiance to William as his successor, in case of his death; dying on his journey, a turbulent minority succeeded, and it required all the abilities of his son, when come to maturity, to re-establish order, to overawe his foreign enemies, and to reduce his rebellious subjects, Edward having informed him, by means of Robert archbishop of Canterbury, one of his Norman favourites, of his intentions in his favour, William took the opportunity of disclosing to Harold, who had come to his court for the purpose of releasing some hostages given by his father for his good behaviour, and whom for the greater security Edward had sent over to Normandy, his pretensions to the crown of England, and he desired his assistance in perfecting that design. Harold feigned compliance, and took an oath, whereby he renounced all hopes of the crown for himself, and professed his sincere intention of supporting the will of Edward. When Harold found himself at liberty, his ambition suggested casuistry sufficient to justify the violation of his oath; he continued to increase the number of his partizans, and to practise every art of popularity. At length, having, by some victories over the Welsh, and by his moderation in a quarrel which his brother Tosti had with the Northumbrians,

Northumbrians, gained the affections of his countrymen, and engaged almost all England in his interests; he openly aspired to the succession, and insisted, that, since it was necessary to set aside the royal family, on account of the imbecility of Edgar Atheling, he was the only person capable of filling the throne, and of securing the kingdom against the dominion of foreigners. In the mean time the king died, after a peaceable reign of twenty-five years. Edward, to whom the monks gave the title of saint and confessor, was the first who touched for the king's evil.

HAROLD. 1066. *January.*

HAROLD had so well prepared matters before the death of Edward, that he immediately stepped without opposition into the vacant throne. When the duke of Normandy first received intelligence of Harold's intrigues and accession, he was moved with indignation, and determined to make an invasion of England. In this hazardous attempt, he trusted for success to the courage and discipline of his Normans, who had long been distinguished by their valour among the European nations. He was joined by many chieftains and soldiers of fortune, who were eager to signalize themselves in so dangerous an enterprise, and to share in the spoils of the vanquished kingdom. Even his neighbours, who were so deeply interested in the undertaking, instead of making that opposition which might have been expected, secretly encouraged his views. Above all, he was supported by the Roman Pontiff, who, after an insensible progress during several ages of darkness, began now to lift his head openly above all the princes of Europe, and to assume the office of a mediator in the quarrels of the greatest monarchs. Alexander II. the reigning pope, hoping that the French and Norman barons, if successful,

would import into England a more devoted reverence to the holy see than it had yet shewn, declared in favour of William's claim, and pronounced Harold a perjured usurper.

William, after surmounting some difficulties which he met with from his own states, had assembled a fleet of 3000 vessels, and an army of 80,000 men. To increase the number of Harold's enemies, he excited against him his brother Tostig, who had left the kingdom in disgust, and encouraged him, in concert with Halfganger king of Norway, to infest the coasts of England. These leaders entered the Humber with a considerable fleet, and disembarked their troops, but were vanquished by Harold in a great battle at Stamford, which ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, together with the death of Tostig and Halfganger.

Harold had scarcely time to rejoice for this victory, when he received intelligence that the duke of Normandy, after meeting with delays from contrary winds and other accidents, was at length landed with a great army in the South of England. He hastened by quick marches to reach this new invader, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of some of his friends, determined to bring matters to a speedy decision, and to risk his whole fortune on the issue of a battle. For that purpose he drew near to the Normans, who had removed to Hastings, where they waited with impatience the arrival of the enemy. Both sides prepared for action. The night previous to the battle was spent by the English in riot and jollity; by the Normans in silence, in prayer, and in the other functions of their religion. On the morning, William, after making a suitable speech to his army, ordered them to advance towards the enemy, singing the hymn of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne. The first attack of the Normans was desperate, but was received with equal valour by the English, who had seized the advantage of a rising ground: After a furious combat, the Normans began to give way; William hastening with a select band to their assistance, restored the fight, but, finding that the English, aided by the advantage of the

the ground, and animated by the example of their prince, who fought on foot at the head of his troops, still made a vigorous resistance, he commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The artifice succeeded : The Normans faced about ; the English who had precipitately followed them into the plains, were repulsed with great slaughter, and driven back to the hill ; the issue of the combat was still doubtful : The duke tried the same stratagem a second time, and with the same success ; the English seemed still determined to dispute the victory to the last extremity, when the fall of Harold, who was slain by an arrow, and of his two brothers, so discouraged them, that they gave ground on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans.

Thus was gained, by William duke of Normandy, the great and decisive victory of Hastings, which determined the fate of the kingdom ; and thus ended the Saxon government in England, after having subsisted for more than six hundred years.

The government of the Saxons was always extremely free ; their kings or chieftans possessed a very limited authority, and always in subordination to the community. Though the monarchy was hereditary and not elective, yet the succession to the crown was by no means regular. If any king left a son fit for government, he naturally stepped into the throne ; if he was a minor, his uncle or the next prince of the blood was promoted to the government, and left the sceptre to his posterity : Any sovereign, by taking previous measures with the leading men, had it greatly in his power to appoint his successor. But all these changes required the express concurrence, or at least the tacit acquiescence of the people ; and then, even in the ordinary affairs of government, the consent of the witenagemot or national council (which consisted of the prelates, abbots, aldermen, judges, and the more considerable proprietors of land) was requisite for enacting laws, and for ratifying the chief acts of public administration.

In the period preceding the Norman conquest, however, the Anglo-Saxon government was become extremely aristocratical. The royal authority was very limited; the people had little or no weight; and the chief power resided with the great proprietors of land who lived on their estates, and possessed great authority over their vassals and retainers. In historians we find many instances of the immeasurable power and riches of particular noblemen; and indeed this seems to have been the natural consequence of the state of affairs at that period. The invasion of the Danes made it necessary, that each county should resist them by its own force, under the conduct of its own nobility and magistrates; so that those inroads commonly tended to increase the power of the aldermen and nobles. The violence of the times likewise obliged men to devote themselves to the service of some chieftain, who could protect them from insult and injustice, and whom they considered as their sovereign, more than the king himself, or even the legislature.

The Saxons were divided into three ranks of men, the nobles; the commons, or freemen; and the slaves or villains, who were the property of their masters, and consequently incapable, themselves, of holding any property. These were of two kinds, the household, after the manner of the ancients, and the prædial or rustic, after the manner of the Germans.

The punishments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon courts of judicature, and the methods of proof employed in all causes, appear somewhat singular, and are very different from those which prevail at present among all civilized nations. The punishments were altogether of a pecuniary nature. In cases of murder, the aggressor paid a fine to the king, and made a present to the relations of the person killed, as a compensation for their loss: These depended on the rank of the person on whom the violence was committed. The price of all kinds of wounds was likewise fixed by the Saxon laws. The punishments for theft and robbery were not capital; and rebellion, to whatever excess it was carried, might be redeemed by a sum of money.

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The methods of proof appear to us still more extraordinary. The ridiculous custom of obliging men to bring compurgators, who swore that they believed the person spoke true, and the practice of single combat, prevailed universally among the ancient nations. They had recourse also to what was called the judgment of God, by means of the decision of the *cross*, and of the trial by ordeal.

The trouble and expence of defending the state lay equally on all the land; and it was usual for every five hides to equip a man for the service. The revenue of the king seems to have consisted chiefly in his demesnes; and in the tolls and imposts which he probably levied at discretion, on the boroughs and seaports which lay within his demesnes.

With regard to the manners of the Anglo-Saxons, they were in general a rude and uncultivated people, ignorant of letters, unskilled in the mechanical arts, untamed to submission under law and government, addicted to intemperance, riot and disorder. The conquest put the people in a situation of receiving slowly from abroad the rudiments of science and cultivation, and of correcting their rough and licentious manners.

CHAPTER III.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. 1066.

SUCH consternation seized the English, when they received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Hastings, that, after a few feeble attempts at resistance, they disposed themselves unanimously to yield to the victor. As soon as William had passed the Thames, near Wallingford, the primate, together with the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, who had newly been elected king, came into his camp, and declared their intention of submitting to his authority. The duke, without waiting for the formal consent of the English nation, accepted the crown, which was tendered to him; and the ceremony of the coronation was performed in Westminster Abbey, December 26. 1067.

William, thus possessed of the throne, proceeded to the settlement of the government. He received the submissions of the nobility, and confirmed all those who had not fought against him in the battle of Hastings, in their estates and possessions. He distributed the treasures of Harold, and the presents which he received from his new subjects, among his troops; and bestowed the confiscated estates on his most eminent captains. The better to reconcile his new subjects to his authority, he made a progress through some parts of England; and not only did he overawe the people by his splendid court and victorious army; but, by his clemency, and his strict execution of justice, he gained

gained the approbation of the wife, attentive to the first steps of their new sovereign.

March 1067.—The king thought that he might safely revisit his native country, and leaving the administration in the hands of Odo, bishop of Baieux, and of William Fitzosborne, he went over to Normandy, carrying along with him all the most considerable nobility in England; who, while they served to grace his court, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation. But, during his absence, discontents and complaints multiplied every where; jealousies and animosities broke out between the English and Normans, who had begun to employ their power for the purposes of rapine and oppression; the people were proceeding to insurrection and open rebellion, when the king hastened over to England, and, by the vigorous measures which he pursued, disconcerted all the schemes of the conspirators.

William now changed the plan of his administration in England from clemency to rigour; and he thenceforth embraced, or was more fully confirmed in the resolution of seizing the possessions of his English subjects, and of reducing them to the most abject slavery. The discontents daily increased; and the insurrections which followed afforded pretences for new confiscations and attainders. (1068.) An ill conducted revolt, in the north, under Edwin and Morca, two potent English noblemen, was speedily quelled by the vigilance and activity of the king. The English saw themselves devoted to destruction; many of them fled from their country; Edgar Atheling himself escaped with his sisters into Scotland, where he was well received by Malcolm, king of that country, who afterwards espoused his sister Magaret. Even the Normans, though they shared in the spoils, yet, being constantly surrounded and harassed by an enraged enemy, found their situation very disagreeable, and began to wish again for the tranquility and security of their native country.

1069.—Revolt at last became general, and seemed to threaten very dangerous consequences. The in-

surgents were aided by the sons of Harold, who, after the battle of Hastings, had sought a retreat in Ireland; by a party of Danes; and by Edgar Atheling, and many of the exiled noblemen, who brought succours from Scotland. The Northumbrians were first in arms; the garrison of York, to the number of 3000 men, were put to the sword: The East-Anglians joined the revolt; and Edric, a powerful nobleman, with the assistance of the Welsh, laid siege to Shrewsbury. William, undismayed amid this scene of confusion, and animating his troops with the hopes of new confiscations, marched against the rebels. The Danes were bribed to retire; the sons of Harold were forced to return with great loss to Ireland; Edgar Atheling again sought a retreat in Scotland; and many of the discontented nobles made their peace with the Conqueror. To incapacitate the Northumbrians for any future revolt, this fertile country, which, for the extent of sixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees, was wholly laid waste by fire and sword, and more than a hundred thousand persons are computed to have perished.

These repeated insurrections had involved the bulk of the landed proprietors, more or less, in the guilt of treason: The king's declared intention was, to depress, or rather extirpate the English gentry; Their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal demesnes, or conferred with the most profuse bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. By the introduction of the feudal-law, William took care also to retain for ever in the same hands the military authority which had enabled him to subdue the kingdom. He divided all the lands of England, beside the royal demesnes, into baronies; and he conferred these, with the reservation of stated services, on the most considerable of his adventurers. These great barons, who were all Normans, and who held immediately of the crown, shared out a great part of their lands to other foreigners, who were denominated knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same submission
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in peace and war, which he himself owed to his sovereign. Even the ecclesiastical revenues were, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope and clergy, reduced under the same feudal law. William took care likewise to remove, from all the considerable dignities, those of the clergy who were natives of the country. The pope's legate, who had been sent into England, in order to extend the prerogatives of the Roman see, submitted to become the instrument of the king's tyranny. Stigand the primate was deposed, and Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, promoted to the vacant see. The other English prelates and abbots shared the same fate; the devoted attachment to Rome continually increased; and, though William himself would allow none to dispute his sovereign will and pleasure, yet the prevalence of this superstitious spirit proved dangerous to some of his successors.

William had even entertained the difficult project of abolishing the English language, and of introducing the French into its room. The youth were instructed in the French tongue: the pleadings of the supreme court were in French; no other tongue was used at court; and it became the language of every fashionable company. Hence, proceeded that mixture of French, which is still to be found in our language.

1071.—About this time, earls Edwin and Morcar, together with some of the remaining English, were frustrated in their attempts to raise an insurrection: Morcar was thrown into prison; and Edwin, attempting to make his escape into Scotland, was killed by a party of Normans.

1074.—While William was absent in France, to reduce the province of Maine, which had revolted from his authority, a conspiracy was formed against him by some of his Norman Barons. Intelligence of this being communicated to the king, by Judith his niece, and wife of earl Waltheof, who had unwarily engaged in the conspiracy, the conspirators flew to arms, before their schemes were ripe for execution. They were every where unsuccessful; and, when

William arrived in England, he found that nothing remained but the punishment of the criminals, which he executed with the greatest severity.

The tranquility of William was next disturbed by disputes, which happened in his own family. He had three sons, Robert, William, and Henry. Robert the eldest, surnamed Curt-hose, from his short legs, inherited all the bravery of his family, but was deficient in the arts of policy and dissimulation. Before William undertook the expedition into England, he had declared Robert his successor in Normandy; but when the prince demanded the execution of those engagements, he gave him an absolute refusal. Robert openly declared his discontents, and began to entertain a strong jealousy of his brothers, who, by greater submission and complaisance, had acquired the affections of his father. A frolic which happened one day, while the three princes were engaged in sport, brought their animosities to a height; and, Robert, full of resentment, instantly left the court, and sought protection among the Norman barons. He began openly to levy war on his father; the popularity of his character, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Brittany, to take part with him; and it was suspected that his mother Matilda, whose favourite he was, encouraged him in his rebellion.

1079.—All the hereditary provinces of William were, during several years, thrown into convulsions by this war. The king having called over an army of English, at length obliged the young prince to take refuge in the castle of Gerberoy. Under the walls of this place, a rencounter happened, remarkable for its circumstances and its event. Robert engaged the king, who was concealed by his helmet, in single combat; the fight was furious, till at last the young prince wounded his father, and unhorsed him. On his calling out for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son, who instantly threw himself at his feet, craved pardon for his offences, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement. By the intercession

cession of their common friends, peace was soon after restored, and Robert received into favour.

1081.—Every thing being reduced into tranquillity, William had leisure to begin and finish the important undertaking of Domes-day Book, containing a general survey of the whole kingdom. William, like all the Normans and ancient Saxons, was extremely fond of hunting; and not contented with those large forests, which former kings possessed, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester; and, for that purpose, he laid waste the county of Hampshire for an extent of thirty miles.

Towards the close of William's reign, a war broke out betwixt him and Philip, king of France, who, in addition to other injuries, had thrown out some railleries against the king of England. William, who had become corpulent, had been detained in bed by sickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise, that his brother of England should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. The king sent him word, that as soon as he was up, he would present as many lights at Notre-Dame, as would give little pleasure to the king of France; alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after child-birth. (1087.) Immediately on his recovery, he led an army into the isle of France, and laid waste every thing with fire and sword. But his progress was stopt by an accident, which soon after put an end to his life. His horse starting aside of a sudden, he bruised his belly on the pommel of the saddle; and, apprehending the consequences, he ordered himself to be carried to the monastery of St Gervas, where he expired. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert; he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William king of England; to Henry he bequeathed nothing but the possessions of his mother. Adela, one of his daughters, was married to Stephen earl of Blois.

CHAPTER IV

WILLIAM RUFUS. 1087.

WILLIAM, surnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, hastened to take measures for securing the government of England, and arrived in that kingdom before they had intelligence of his father's death. He seized some of the most important fortresses, got possession of the royal treasure, and was instantly crowned king by the primate. At the same time, Robert took peaceable possession of his duchy. This partition gave offence to many of the barons, who possessed estates in both countries, and who must necessarily resign either their ancient patrimony, or their new acquisitions. A conspiracy was formed to dethrone William, and to bestow the crown on Robert. But the cause of William being zealously embraced by the native English, whose affections he had endeavoured to engage, and the indolence of Robert preventing him from succouring the confederates, they were quickly reduced to submission: some received pardon, but the greatest part were attainted and the king bestowed their estates on the Norman barons who had remained faithful to him.

William was soon after in a condition to disturb his brother in the possession of Normandy. He appeared in that country at the head of an army, and affairs seemed to have come to extremities, when the nobility on both sides interposed and mediated an accommodation; by which it was stipulated, that whoever died first should leave the other successor to all his dominions. To this Norman war succeeded

hostilities

hostilities with Scotland, which were productive of no important consequences.

1096.—But the noise of these petty wars and commotions, was quite sunk in the tumult of the crusades, which were at this time preached up by Peter, a monk, commonly called the Hermit. This enthusiast, having made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and being deeply affected with the dangers to which the pilgrims were exposed, as well as with the oppression under which the eastern Christians laboured, conceived the bold, and in all appearance, impracticable project of leading into Asia, from the farthest extremities of the west, armies sufficient to subdue those potent and warlike nations, which now held the holy city in subjection. His views having been communicated to Martin II. who then filled the papal chair, and warmly approved of by two numerous councils, all ranks of men flew to arms, and engaged with ardour in this sacred warfare. Actuated by that superstition, into which the minds of men were at that time sunk, and by that military spirit which had universally diffused itself, nobles, artizans, peasants, and even priests, enlisted themselves under the banners of the cross; and Europe, loosened as it were, from its foundations, seemed to precipitate itself in one united body upon the east.

Robert, duke of Normandy, infected with the common contagion, had early enlisted himself in the crusade. In order to procure money for defraying the expences of an enterprize, by which he was confident of securing his eternal salvation, he resolved to mortgage, or rather sell his dominions, and offered them to William, for the very unequal sum of ten thousand marks. The bargain was soon concluded; the king raised the money by extortions on his subjects, and was put in possession of Normandy and Maine. The fury of the crusades, during this age, less infected England than the neighbouring kingdoms; the Normans probably found their settlements, in that kingdom, somewhat precarious; and the selfish interested spirit of the king, which prevented him from
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kindling in the general flame, checked its progress among his subjects.

The government of William was violent and rapacious. For several years, after the death of Lanfranc, he retained in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury, as he did those of many other vacant bishoprics; but falling into a dangerous sickness, and being struck with remorse, he resolved to promote Anselm, a monk, celebrated for his piety and learning, to the see of Canterbury. William recovering soon after, his passions regained their wonted vigour; he still preyed on the ecclesiastical benefices, and kept possession of a considerable part of the revenues of Canterbury. These circumstances, together with a dispute about the authority of Urban, who laid claim to the papacy, and who was acknowledged by Anselm, in preference to Clement, the other claimant, as well as about furnishing the quota of soldiers, which the archbishop regarded as an oppression on the church, engaged William in controversies with this austere prelate. Anselm demanded that all the revenues of his see should be restored to him; appealed to Rome against the king's injustice; and affairs came to such extremities, that the primate finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired, and obtained the king's permission to retire beyond sea. All his temporalities were seized; but he was received with great respect by Urban, who even menaced the king with the sentence of excommunication.

1100.—William, after receiving much inquietude from Helie lord of la Fleche, a small town in Anjou, entered into an engagement with William earl of Poitiers and Guienne, who wanted money to defray the expences of an army, which he had assembled for the holy war, and offered to mortgage all his dominions to William. The king accepted the offer, and had prepared a fleet and army in order to escort the money, and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou, when an accident put an end to his life, and to all his ambitious projects. While he was one day hunting in the new forest, an arrow,

arrow, discharged by Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, at a stag which suddenly started before him, glancing from a tree, struck the king on the breast, and instantly slew him: While Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, hastened to the seashore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem. William being killed in the new forest, as happened also to several of his family, was regarded by all men as an instance of the just vengeance of heaven, for the violence and cruelty, of which the conqueror had been guilty, in expelling the inhabitants of that district.

CHAP.

CHAPTER V.

HENRY I. 1100.

JERUSALEM having surrendered to the valour of the crusaders, some of the princes began to settle in their new conquests, while others of them returned to Europe, in order to enjoy at home that glory which they had acquired in this popular and meritorious enterprise. Among these was Robert, duke of Normandy, who, in passing through Italy, became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of the count of Conversana, whom he espoused. Having spent a twelvemonth in that delicious climate, and in the enjoyment of ease, after so many rough campaigns, he lost by his delay the kingdom of England, which his birth and his agreement with his deceased brother would infallibly have secured to him.

Prince Henry, who was hunting with Rufus, when intelligence of that monarch's death was brought him, hurried to Winchester in order to secure the royal treasure, hastened to London with the money, and in three days after the king's death, was crowned king by Maurice, bishop of London, who was persuaded to officiate on that occasion. In order to gain the affections of his subjects, and to secure a crown, which, being usurped against all rules of justice, he foresaw would sit uneasy on his head, he passed a charter which was calculated, to remove many of the grievous oppressions, which had been complained of under the reign of his father and brother. Henry lodged a copy
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of this charter in some abbey of each county; but, after the present purpose was served, he never once thought of observing one single article of it; and the grievances intended to be thereby redressed still continued in their full extent. Henry, farther to increase his popularity, and sensible of the great authority which Anselm had acquired by his character for piety, and by the persecutions he had suffered from William, invited that prelate to return and take possession of his dignities. The king's marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III. king of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling, which happened soon after, rendered him extremely popular with his English subjects, and tended greatly to establish him on the throne. This lady had worn the veil; but, as she had never taken the vows, and as wearing the veil was a custom familiar to the English ladies, who thereby protected their chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans, it was determined by a council of prelates and nobles, that Matilda was still free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity.

In the mean time, Robert, who had returned to Normandy about a month after his brother's death, took possession without opposition of that duchy, and immediately made preparations for recovering England, of which he had, by Henry's intrigues, been so unjustly defrauded. To this attempt he was invited by some of the nobility, who were discontented with the separation of the duchy and kingdom, and who promised to join him with all their forces on his landing. Henry, however, by the influence of the primate, to whom he paid diligent court, and of some powerful barons, who still adhered to the present government, had collected an army to oppose his brother, who had landed near Portsmouth. The two armies lay in sight of each other for some days without coming to action; and matters were at length brought to an accomodation. Robert resigned his pretensions to England, and received in lieu of them an annual pension.

pension of 3000 merks; the adherents of each party were pardoned and restored to their possessions; and it was agreed, that whoever of the brothers died first, the other should inherit his dominions.

1105.—The weak government of Robert, and the disorders of Normandy, soon afforded Henry a pretence for interposing in the affairs of that duchy. He had already, under various pretences, attainted the nobles who had taken part with Robert, and confiscated their estates; the duke himself having imprudently ventured to come into England, was glad to purchase his escape by resigning his pension. Henry having found, in a visit to Normandy, that the nobility were more disposed to submit to him, than to their legal sovereign, collected a great army, and, returning to that duchy, took several towns. Next year he opened the campaign with the siege of Tenchebray; the Normans were totally defeated in a decisive engagement fought near this place, and Robert, together with the most considerable barons who adhered to him, were taken prisoners. Henry assembled the states of Normandy, and having received the homage of all the vassals of that duchy, he returned to England, and carried along with him the duke as prisoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than twenty-eight years, and William, his only son, was committed to the care of Helie de St Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who, being a man of probity and honour, beyond what was usual in those ages, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity.

1109.—About this time Henry finished a controversy which had long been depending between him and the pope, with regard to the right of investiture in ecclesiastical benefices. This had occasioned many wars and negociations in Europe, and the pretensions of the pope to the sole right of appointing prelates finally prevailed. Before they took possession of their dignity, two ceremonies were passed through; the first was the receiving of a ring and crozier, as symbols of their

their office, which was called *investiture*; the second was the making of those submissions to the prince, which were required of vassals by the feudal law, and which received the name of *homage*. Urban II. had equally deprived laymen of the right of granting investiture, and of receiving homage; the emperors were never able to make any distinction be admitted between them. But Henry had put England, as well as Normandy, in such a situation, as gave greater weight to his negotiations; and Pascal, the reigning pope, was satisfied with his resigning the right of granting investiture, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and he allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges.

1110.--In proportion as William, Henry's nephew, grew up to man's estate, he discovered virtues becoming his birth; and, wandering through the different courts of Europe, he excited the friendly compassion of many princes, and raised a general indignation against his uncle, by whom he had been unjustly deprived of his inheritance. A confederacy was formed against Henry, by Lewis king of France, Fulk, count of Anjou, and Baldwin earl of Flanders, who likewise beheld with jealousy the annexation of Normandy to England. The king went over to Normandy to defend his dominions, and a war ensued, which was attended with no memorable event, and produced only skirmishes on the frontiers, agreeable to the weak condition of the sovereigns in that age. Fulk was detached from the alliance, and the rest were obliged to come to an accomodation. William having returned to the court of Baldwin, a new war was kindled in Normandy, which produced no event more memorable than the former. Lewis finding himself unable to wrest Normandy from the king by force of arms, had recourse to the spiritual power; and carrying the young prince to a council assembled at Rheims by Calixtus II. he craved the assistance of the church for reinstating the true heir in his dominions; but the promises and presents of Henry weighed more with the pope than the justice of William's cause, and the complaints

complaints of the Norman prince were thenceforth heard with coldness by the council. Lewis was not more successful in his warlike measures; he was defeated in an engagement at Brenniville; an accommodation soon after ensued between the two kings, and the interests of William were entirely neglected.

About this time Henry experienced a great domestic calamity, by the loss of his only son, William, whom he had taken care to have recognized successor by the states of the kingdom, and whom he had carried over to Normandy, that he might receive the homage of the barons of that duchy. Unfortunately, the ship in which he returned was, by the negligence of the crew, carried upon a rock, where she immediately foundered, and the prince, with all his retinue, perished. When intelligence of this event was brought to the king, he fainted away; and it was remarked that he never after was seen to smile, or to recover his wonted cheerfulness.

The king having no legitimate issue, except Matilda, who was married to the Emperor Henry V. was induced to marry a second time, in hopes of having male-heirs, and paid his addresses to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey duke of Lorraine, by whom, however, he had no issue. The emperor, his son-in-law, dying without issue, (1127), he bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey, the eldest son of the count of Anjou, and endeavoured to secure her succession, by having her recognized heir to all her dominions, and obliging the barons, both of Normandy and England, to swear fealty to her. The death of his nephew, William, who was killed soon after in a skirmish with the landgrave of Alsace, put an end, for the present, to Henry's jealousy and inquietude.

All the dominions of Henry being now in profound tranquility, he took the opportunity of paying a visit to his daughter in Normandy, who was soon after delivered of a son. The king resided there for some time, and seemed determined to pass the remainder of his days in that country, when an insurrection of the Welsh obliged him to return to England. He was
preparing

preparing for his journey, but was seized with a sudden illness at St Dennis, (Dec. 1. 1135), from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than with his constitution. He died in the 67th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign, leaving his daughter Matilda heir of all his dominions.

Henry was one of the most accomplished princes that had filled the English throne, and possessed all the great qualities, both of body and mind, natural and acquired, which could fit him for the high station to which he attained.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

STEPHEN. 1135.

STEPHEN and Henry, the two youngest sons of the count of Blois, by Adela daughter of William the Conqueror, had been invited over to England, and loaded with honours, riches, and preferment, by the late king. Henry, who had betaken himself to the church, was created abbot of Glastonbury, and bishop of Winchester; and Stephen had, from his uncle's liberality, obtained still greater establishments. The king had married him to the daughter and heir of Eustace count of Boulogne, and conferred on him several forfeited estates, both in England and Normandy. Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his uncle: Meanwhile he endeavoured, by every art of popularity, to gain the affections of the English people; and, though he dared not, during the king's life, take any steps towards his further grandeur, he hoped that, by accumulating riches and power, he might in time be able to open his way to the throne.

No sooner had Henry breathed his last, than Stephen hastened over to England; and, on his arrival at London, was immediately saluted king by some of the people. Having gained the good will of the clergy, he was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, and proceeded to the exercise of the sovereign authority. Few of the barons attended his coronation; but none opposed his usurpation, however unjust or
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flagrant

flagrant. The better to secure his tottering throne, he passed a charter containing liberal promises to all orders of men; he seized a great treasure belonging to the late king at Winchester, and with this money he hired a body of those mercenary troops which abounded in every country of Europe, and which guarded his throne with the terrors of the sword. He also procured a bull from the pope which ratified his title. The states of Normandy likewise transferred their allegiance to him; and his eldest son did homage to the king of France for the duchy.

Stephen's disputed title obliged him to submit to many encroachments on the royal prerogative, and to tolerate others, in the same violence to which he had been beholden for the sovereignty. The barons, in return for their submission, required the right of fortifying their castles. All England was soon filled with fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned with their vassals, or with licentious soldiers; private wars broke out with the greatest fury, and the kingdom soon became a scene of uninterrupted violence and devastation. Stephen finding that the legal prerogatives of the crown were resisted, was also tempted to make his power the sole measure of his conduct, and to violate all the privileges of his subjects. The mercenary troops, who chiefly supported his authority, having exhausted the royal treasure, subsisted by depredations, and every place was filled with complaints against the government. At length, Robert earl of Gloucester, and natural son of the late king, who was attached to the interests of Matilda, having settled with his friends the plan of an insurrection, retired beyond sea, David king of Scotland appeared at the head of an army, in defence of his niece's title, but was defeated near North Allerton, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English.

1139.—Unfortunately for Stephen, he had entered into a controversy with the clergy, who were at that time an overmatch for any monarch. Matilda, taking advantage of the civil and religious dissensions

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which

which then prevailed in the kingdom, landed in England with Robert Earl of Gloucester, and excited her partizans to take arms in every county of England. A destructive civil war ensued; many battles were fought with various success, the detail of which would be tedious and uninteresting. At last, an event happened, (1114), which seemed to promise some end of the public calamities. Stephen was taken prisoner by the Earl of Gloucester, in a battle near Lincoln, which so entirely broke his party, that the barons came in daily, and did homage to Matilda. Having fixed the clergy in her interests, and particularly Henry the King's brother, who had been appointed the pope's legate, she was crowned, and her authority, by the prudent conduct of Earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom.

Things remained not long in this situation. The legate changed sides; the Londoners, to whom Matilda had given some disgust, revolted; and the earl of Gloucester, the soul of her party, was taken prisoner, to procure whose liberty she was obliged to release Stephen from his captivity. The civil war was rekindled with great fury. Henry, Matilda's eldest son, a young prince of great hopes, took a journey into England, and appeared at the head of his party. This produced nothing decisive. Matilda left the kingdom; and success inclined to Stephen, had not the disputes which he had with his barons, and a quarrel with the pope, who laid his party under an interdict, checked his prosperity.

1148.—The weakness of both parties produced a tacit cessation of arms. Young Henry paid a visit to his uncle, king of Scotland, where, by his valour in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence, he roused the hopes of his party, and gave symptoms of those qualities which he afterwards displayed. He returned soon after to Normandy, and was invested in that duchy. Upon the death of his father, which happened in the subsequent year, he took possession of Maine and Anjou; and concluded a marriage with Eleanor, daughter and heir of William duke

duke of Guienne and earl of Poitou, whom Lewis VII. king of France had divorced for being suspected of gallantry with a handsome Saracen. Henry having received all her dominions, which Lewis had restored as her dowry, made hereby a great addition to his power, and became extremely formidable to his rival. He invaded England with an army: The king advanced to meet him, and a decisive action was daily expected, when, by the interference of the barons, a compromise was made, and it was agreed that Stephen should possess the throne during his lifetime, and on his demise Henry should succeed to the kingdom. The death of Stephen, which happened next year, (1154), prevented all those quarrels and jealousies which were likely to have ensued in so delicate a situation.

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CHAP.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY II. 1154.

HENRY, on his arrival in England, was received with acclamations by all orders of men, who swore with pleasure the oath of fealty and allegiance to a prince, who, by his personal abilities, and the great accession of power which he derived from his foreign dominions, they foresaw would give such lustre to the throne. The first acts of his government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities. He dismissed the mercenary troops of Stephen, demolished the newly erected castles, and suppressed all violence and disorder.

1158.—About this time, Henry affianced his eldest son Henry, heir of the English monarchy, to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age, and the latter still in her cradle. His third son Geoffrey was also betrothed to the daughter and only child of the duke of Brittany, who died about seven years after. Henry, as natural guardian to his son, took possession of that principality, and annexed it for the present to his other great dominions.

He was soon after engaged in a war with the king of France, in consequence of a claim which he laid to the county of Toulouse in right of his wife Eleanor. But this war, as was usual in that age, when the armies were composed of independent vassals, bound only to serve for a certain time, produced no memorable event,

event, and a peace was soon concluded, which, however, was not attended with any confidence or good correspondence between those rival princes.

1162.—Henry was soon after engaged in a controversy with the church, which bred him great inquietude, involved him in danger, and was not concluded without some loss and dishonour. The usurpations of the clergy were now carried to such a height, that it became necessary to determine whether the king or the priests should be sovereign of the kingdom. Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was the champion of the church on this occasion. This ecclesiastic had formerly been archdeacon of Canterbury, and had afterwards been promoted by Henry to the office of chancellor and prime minister. On the death of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry promoted his favourite, on whose compliance he thought he could entirely depend, to the vacant see. But no sooner was he installed in this high dignity, than his character and conduct became entirely changed. Formerly he lived in the greatest pomp and splendour, and indulged in all the gaieties of the court; now he endeavoured to acquire the character of sanctity, by affecting the greatest austerity, and the most rigid mortification; he wore sackcloth next his skin; his usual diet was bread, his drink was water; and he tore his back by frequent discipline. All men of penetration saw that he was meditating some great design, and that the ambition and ostentation of his character was turned towards a new and more dangerous object.

Becket, apprized of the king's designs against the ecclesiastical power, became himself the aggressor, and summoned the earl of Clare to surrender the barony of Tunbridge, which had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury; and likewise excommunicated William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, for having expelled a priest who had been presented by the primate to a living of which Eynsford was patron. Henry, though he found himself thus grievously mistaken in the character of the person whom he had promoted to the primacy, determined not to de-

sist from his intention of retrenching clerical usurpations. Now was the favourable opportunity, when the papacy was weakened by a schism which divided all Europe. He first of all required that a civil officer of his appointment should be present in all ecclesiastical courts, and should for the future give his consent to every composition which the people made with the priests for their spiritual offences. In that age, the clergy pretended to an exemption from a trial before courts of justice; spiritual penalties alone could be inflicted on their offences; the consequence of which was, that crimes of the deepest dye, murders, adulteries, rapes, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. Henry summoned an assembly of all the prelates, and put to them this decisive question, whether they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? They unanimously replied that they were willing, *saving their own order*. The king was sensible of the artifice; he left the assembly in the greatest rage; the bishops were terrified with a dread of his resentment, and were prevailed on to retract the saving clause. In a council of nobility and prelates, afterwards held at Clarendon, the laws commonly called the *Constitutions of Clarendon* were passed without opposition. To these laws, which were calculated to prevent the chief abuses in ecclesiastical affairs, Becket refused his assent; but being deserted by his brethren, and by all the world, he was at last obliged to comply. Pope Alexander, however, whose ratification Henry required, condemned them in the strongest terms, abrogated, annulled, and rejected them. Becket, when he observed that he might hope for support in his opposition, expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance, and endeavoured to engage the other bishops in a confederacy to adhere to their common right. The king, enraged at the conduct of the primate, summoned a council, which he purposed to make the instrument of his vengeance against the inflexible prelate. By this council, Becket was condemned as guilty of contempt of the king's court, because, being prevented by sickness from appearing

pearing personally, he had sent four knights to answer for him; and all his goods and chattels were confiscated. In addition to this violent and oppressive sentence, the king demanded next day the sum of 300 l. which the primate had levied from some estates conferred upon him by the king; he afterwards demanded payment of other sums lent him on various occasions; and last of all, he required him to give in the accounts of his administration when chancellor, and to pay the balance, which the king said amounted to 44,000 merks. Becket required a delay, and promised in that case to give satisfaction.

The primate was too bold to sink under oppression, and trusting to the sacredness of his character, determined to stand the utmost efforts of royal indignation. After a few days spent in deliberation, he went to mass, where he had previously ordered that the introit to the communion service should be, *Princes sat and spake against me*; from thence he proceeded, arrayed in his sacred vestments to the palace; appealed to the Roman Pontiff against any sentence which iniquitous judges might pass against him; and soon after took shipping, and arrived safely at Gravelines.

Becket was graciously received by the pope, who then resided at Sens, as well as by Philip earl of Flanders, and Lewis king of France, who, jealous of the great power of Henry, were pleased to give him disturbance in his government. The prosperous state of Alexander's affairs calling him to Rome, Henry began to prepare for the breach which impended between his kingdom and the apostolic see. He forbade all appeals to the pope or arch-bishop, discharged his subjects from receiving any mandates from them, and declared it treasonable to bring from either of them an interdict upon the kingdom. He suspended the payment of Peter's pence; made advances towards an alliance with the emperor, who protected Pascal III. the antipope, and who was then at war with Alexander. In the mean time, Becket filled all places with exclamations against the violence which he had suffered. He even excommunicated the king's chief

ministers by name, and in general all those who favoured or obeyed the constitutions of Clarendon. Both parties began to be apprehensive of the event of the dispute; and, after various unsuccessful negotiations, all difficulties were at last adjusted; and the king allowed Becket to return upon conditions which may be esteemed both honourable and advantageous to that prelate. The church was allowed to retain her rights: Becket's adherents were restored to their livings; and those who had been promoted during his absence to benefices dependent on the see of Canterbury were expelled. All the king gained, was the abolition of his ministers, and the prevention of the interdict.

When the primate arrived in England, he was received with shouts and acclamations by all ranks and ages of men. Perceiving the veneration in which he was held, little intimidated by his past sufferings, and still apprehensive of the king's designs, he proceeded to dart his spiritual thunders. He suspended the archbishop of York, and excommunicated two other prelates, and some barons, because they had assisted at the coronation of prince Henry, whom his father had associated with him, in order to secure the succession, in case the threatened interdict should have the intended effect. When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Baienx, where the king then was, Henry burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprises of that ungrateful and imperious prelate.

Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, taking these passionate expressions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expressions, which they had dropped, gave a suspicion of their design; and the king dispatched a messenger after them, charging them

them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate: But these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The four assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly about the same time at Saltwoode near Canterbury; and being there joined by some assistants, they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace. They found the primate, who trusted entirely to the sacredness of his character, very slenderly attended; and though they threw out many menaces and reproaches against him, he was so incapable of fear, that, without using any precautions against their violence, he immediately went to St Benedict's church to hear vespers. They followed him thither, attacked him before the altar, and having cloven his head with many blows, retired without meeting any opposition. This was the tragical end of Thomas a Becket, a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himself, the enterprizes of pride and ambition, under the disguise of sanctity and of zeal for the interests of religion.

Henry was thrown into the utmost consternation, when he received intelligence of the murder of Becket. The resentment of the church, and the detestation of mankind, would follow the murderer of one who had suffered in defence of ecclesiastical privileges. He shut himself up from the light of day, and from the commerce of his servants; he even refused, during three days, all food and sustenance. When the first effects of his despair were over, his chief care was to convince the pope of his innocence, and, by the most unlimited submission, avert the blow which was levelled against him. The clergy, in the mean time, were not idle in magnifying the sanctity of Becket, and extolling the merits of his martyrdom. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtue; many were the miracles supposed to be wrought by his relics; he was canonized by the pope; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine; and it is computed that, in

one year, above a hundred thousand pilgrims paid their devotions at his tomb.

Henry having, by means of messengers, which he had dispatched to Rome, secured himself from any immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, undertook, what he had long projected, an expedition against Ireland. The Irish having never been conquered, or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the western world derived its civility, were still buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance. They were divided into many small principalities, which exercised perpetual violence and rapine against each other; the most simple arts of life, even tillage and agriculture, were unknown; and the only towns which were found in the island, had been planted along the coast by the freebooters of Normandy and Denmark. The ambition of Henry had, early in his reign, suggested to him the conquest of Ireland; and he wanted only a pretence to invade the people. Not foreseeing the disputes he was one day to have with the papal see, he had recourse to Rome, and obtained from the pope a bull which gave him entire right and authority over the island. But, being detained by more interesting business on the Continent, he deferred his intended invasion till another opportunity.

The five principal sovereignties in the island were Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught. Dermot, king of Leinster, who had been expelled from his kingdom, for carrying off the wife of a neighbouring prince, solicited assistance from Henry, offered to hold his crown in vassalage under the crown of England, and obtained from him letters patent, empowering all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, a man of desperate fortune, engaged in the enterprize, on condition that he should espouse Eva daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. Dermot being joined by a few other adventurers, landed in Ireland with a small body of troops, and having defeated the undisciplined natives

natives in several engagements, was in short time restored to his kingdom. By his death, which happened soon after, Richard became master of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Henry, jealous of the progress made by his own subjects, went over to Ireland with an army in person, and finding that he had nothing to do but to receive the homage of his new subjects, after a few months stay, returned in triumph to England. Though Ireland thus easily submitted to the English yoke, yet the inhabitants remained long uncivilized and barbarous, and it was not till the latter end of Elizabeth's reign that the island was fully subdued.

1173.—Soon after the conquest of Ireland, Henry was fortunate enough to come to an accommodation with the court of Rome. He now seemed to have reached the pinnacle of human grandeur and felicity, when the revolt of his three sons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, encouraged by the enemies of Henry's greatness, unexpectedly embittered his life, and disturbed his government. Henry, at the instigation of his father-in-law, desired the king to resign to him, either the crown of England, or the duchy of Normandy; Richard demanded possession of Guienne and Poitou, in which he had been invested; and Geoffrey required him to deliver up to him the duchy of Brittany, which belonged to him in right of his wife. The princes were even encouraged in this undutiful behaviour by their mother Eleanor, who, as she had disgusted her former husband by her gallantries, was become offensive to Henry by her jealousy. Upon the refusal of their absurd demands, they fled to the court of France, where they were protected by Lewis, and joined by several of the licentious barons. A general confederacy was formed against Henry; William, king of Scotland, joined the league; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion of the king's dominions. Henry, advanced at the head of 20,000 Brabançons, (a kind of mercenary banditti, who hired themselves to the potentates of that age), and of some

troops which he brought from Ireland, against Lewis and the malecontents in Normandy. His vigorous measures and happy successes soon obliged his adversaries to agree to a conference, at which the king made the most advantageous offers to his sons, but which was broken up by the violence of the earl of Leicester, who was present.

1174.—The state of affairs in England made the king's presence necessary in that kingdom. Many of the barons, who were attached to the cause of the princes, had risen in arms; a great body of Flemings, with the earl of Leicester at their head, had made an invasion upon Suffolk; and William had advanced into the northern provinces with an army of 80,000 men. Henry, in order to ingratiate himself with the clergy, and knowing the influence of superstition on the minds of men, hastened to Canterbury to make atonement at the shrine of Thomas a Becket, for the murder of that prelate. He walked barefooted to his tomb, prostrate himself before it, remained in fasting and prayer the whole day, and watched all night the holy relics. He assembled a chapter of monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and exposed his bare shoulders to the lashes which were successively inflicted upon him. News were soon after received, that the king of Scots was defeated and taken prisoner by the famous Justiciary Glanville. The Flemings were likewise vanquished with great slaughter, and compelled to seek safety by a retreat. The greatest part of the malecontents submitted to the king, and all England was restored to tranquility in a few weeks. Henry hastened to the defence of his dominions in Normandy, which had, in the mean time, been attacked by Lewis. An accommodation soon after took place between the king and his sons, on terms much less advantageous to the latter than those proposed in the former conference. William, king of Scotland, was the chief loser by that invidious and unjust enterprise. He was not delivered from confinement,
before

before he had stipulated to do homage for Scotland, and all his other possessions, and to make a perpetual cession of the fortresses of Roxborough to the king of England.

1180.—Lewis, king of France, who, having fallen into the most abject superstition, had made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in order to obtain his intercession for the cure of his eldest son, was soon after struck with an apoplexy; and dying in a short time after, was succeeded by his son Philip, the ablest monarch who had governed that kingdom since the days of Charlemagne. Prince Henry likewise died a few years after, at Martel, a castle in Turenne, whither he had retired in discontent, full of remorse for his undutiful behaviour towards his father. Geoffrey, Henry's third son, was killed in a tournament at Paris; and his widow was, soon after his decease, delivered of a son, who received the name of Arthur, and was invested in the duchy of Brittany.

1187.—The affairs of the Christians in the east being now in a very languishing condition, and the holy city itself having been taken by the great conqueror Saladin, a new crusade was preached up. The monarchs of France and England took the cross; their vassals imitated the example; and a tax, called Saladin's tax, was imposed on all such as remained at home. But the rivalry of the two princes prevented the execution of their plans for the delivery of the holy land; and the revolt of prince Richard, who was instigated and supported by Philip, brought his parent to an untimely grave. After appealing to the pope's authority in vain, and waging war without success, Henry was at length obliged to agree that Richard should be crowned king of England, in the lifetime of his father, should be invested in all his transmarine dominions, and should immediately espouse Alice, Philip's sister; and that all his vassals, who had entered into a confederacy with Richard, should receive an indemnity for their offence.

fence. At the head of these, Henry was astonished to find the name of his second son John, who had always been his favourite, and whose interest he had ever anxiously at heart. This circumstance quite broke his spirit, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired, at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign.

Henry was the greatest prince of his time, for wisdom, virtue, and abilities, and the most powerful, in extent of dominion, of all those that had ever filled the throne of England.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VIII.

RICHARD I. 1189.

THE king's death filled his son with the greatest sorrow and remorse; and, in proof of the sincerity of his repentance, he retained the faithful ministers of his father, without giving the smallest encouragement to those who had favoured his rebellion. He bestowed large possessions on his brother John, and endeavoured, by favours, to fix that vicious prince in his duty. On the day of his coronation, the animosity of the populace broke out against the Jews, who, having got into their hands all the ready money of the kingdom, lent it out at interest; a practice, which in that age, passed by the opprobrious name of usury, and which was often attended with rapine and extortion. Their houses were plundered, and many of them were massacred.

Richard entered with zeal into the holy war, and acted, from the beginning of his reign, as if the sole purpose of his government had been to rescue Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens. But, in this he was guided more by love of military glory, than by superstition; for so little had his outward conduct the appearance of sanctity, that a zealous preacher of the crusade, who, from that merit, had acquired a right of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his three daughters, meaning his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness: *You counsel well*, replied Richard; *and I hereby dispose of the first to the templars, of the second to the benedictines, and of the third to my prelates.*

lates. In order to procure money for so expensive an enterprize, he put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown; he parted with the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxborough and Berwick, for the sum of 10,000 merks; even the great offices became venal, and were sold to the highest bidder.

1190.—Richard and Philip met each other on the plains of Vezelay, their combined army, amounting to 100,000 men; a mighty force not to be overcome but by their own misconduct, or by the insurmountable obstacles of nature. After mutually pledging their faith not to invade each others dominions, Philip took the road to Genoa; Richard, that to Marfeilles, which were severally appointed for the rendezvous of their fleets. They were both obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained all winter. Here animosities broke out between the princes, which proved fatal to their enterprize. Upon their arrival in Palestine, they joined the Christian army, who were besieging Acre, and at last obliged the garrison to capitulate. Philip soon after returned to Europe, under pretence of bad health; he left, however, to Richard, 10,000 of his troops, and renewed his oath never to commence hostilities against that prince's dominions during his absence. Richard prosecuted the war with the utmost heroism, ability, and success. He defeated Saladin in a great battle, wherein 40,000 Saracens were put to the sword, took the city Ascalon, and had advanced within sight of Jerusalem, when his followers worn out with disease, fatigue, and want, expressed their desire of returning to Europe, and he was obliged to conclude a truce for three years, three months, three weeks, three days and three hours; by which it was stipulated, that the sea-port towns of Palestine should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested. No business of importance remained to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which
he

he received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and of those of the king of France, made him sensible that his presence was necessary in Europe. Being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he determined to take his journey secretly through Germany in the disguise of a pilgrim, but he was discovered, arrested by the duke of Austria, delivered to the emperor Henry VI., loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon.

1193.—During Richard's absence in the holy land, his dominions had not remained in perfect tranquility; Longchamp, bishop of Ely, whom he had left joint guardian of the realm, with the bishop of Durham, having, by his arrogant and violent conduct, given universal offence, was banished from the kingdom, and deprived of his offices. Philip, likewise, whose jealousy was every moment excited by the glory which Richard was acquiring in the east, proceeded, though after a covert manner, to make attempts on Richard's dominions. He debauched prince John from his allegiance; promised him in marriage his sister Alice, whom Richard had refused, on account of being suspected of an amour with his father; and offered to put him in possession of his brother's transmarine dominions. As soon as he was informed of Richard's captivity, he prepared to take advantage of the incident; and employed every method of force and intrigue, war, and negociation, against the dominions and person of his unfortunate rival. He made the largest offers to the emperor, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner; he entered into an agreement with John, who, forgetting every tie to his brother, his sovereign, and his benefactor, thought of nothing but how to make his own advantage of the public calamities: He attacked Normandy, but being repulsed by the English regency, he at length consented to a truce. John, likewise, who had come to London, and claimed the kingdom, on pretence that he had received certain intelligence of the king's death, was rejected by all the barons, and forced to return to France.

Mean

Mean while, Richard languished in captivity, exposed to every kind of insult and indignity. But the German princes, to whom he had condescended to justify his conduct, having exclaimed loudly against the emperor, and the pope having threatened him with excommunication, he at length agreed to restore him to freedom, on condition of his paying the sum of 150,000 marks, or about 100,000 pounds of our money. The requisite sum being collected, queen Eleanor, with the archbishop of Rouen, set out with it for Germany. Richard was freed from captivity at a critical time, for he was pursued by orders of the emperor, who having become obnoxious to many German princes, had determined to seek support from an alliance with the king of France, and to detain Richard, the enemy of that prince, in perpetual captivity; but luckily the king had already embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and was out of sight of land, when the messengers of the emperor reached Antwerp.

1194.—The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch, who had suffered so many calamities, who had acquired so much glory, and who had spread the reputation of their name into the farthest east. Richard having settled every thing in England, passed over with an army to Normandy, in order to make war on Philip. When Philip heard of his delivery from confinement, he wrote to his confederate John, in these words, *Take care of yourself, the devil is broken loose.* This war, however, produced nothing memorable, and soon ended in a truce between the two monarchs. During this war, prince John deserted from Philip, threw himself at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and, by the intercession of queen Eleanor, was received into favour. *I forgive him, said the king, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries, as he will my pardon.* The emperor having offered to give Richard a discharge for all the debt not yet paid to him, provided he would enter into an offensive alliance against France, the war between France and England, was rekindled before

before the expiry of the truce. After a few insignificant sieges and skirmishes, a new truce for five years was agreed to, and a treaty set on foot for a more durable peace; but the death of Richard put an end to the negociation. He received, at the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, which he was besieging, in order to make the viscount of Limoges deliver up some treasure which he found, a wound in the shoulder, which was not dangerous in itself, but became mortal by the unskilfulness of the surgeon.

Richard died in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age; he left no issue. His military talents form the most shining part of his character, and his courage and intrepidity have gained him the appellation of *Cœur de Lion*, or Lion-Hearted. He spent only four months of his reign in England, and frequently levied very heavy taxes on his subjects, in order to defray the expences of the crusade.

CHAP

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN. 1199.

RICHARD, by his last will declared his brother John heir to all his dominions. The title of Arthur, his elder brother's son, appeared preferable to the barons of the transmarine provinces, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; they applied for assistance to the king of France, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and to dismember his dominions; and a war commenced between France and England. But Constantia, Arthur's mother, suspecting that Philip intended to usurp the entire dominion of those provinces which had declared for her son, found means to carry him off secretly from Paris, and put him into the hands of his uncle. A peace was soon after concluded, which was guaranteed by nine barons of both parties.

John becoming enamoured of Isabella, daughter of the count of Angouleme, procured a divorce from his own wife, and espoused the object of his passion, though she had already been betrothed to the count de la Marche. The injured count soon found means of revenge. Seconded by some other barons, he excited commotions in Normandy; and when the king required his English barons to pass the sea under his standard, in order to quell the rebels, they unanimously refused, unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges. This was the first symptom of a regular association and plan of liberty among those noblemen;

noblemen ; but affairs were not yet ripe for the revolution proposed. John, by menacing the barons, broke the concert, and carried abroad with him a force which rendered him much superior to the malecontents. The king, elated with his superiority, advanced claims which gave an universal alarm to his vassals, and refused still wider the discontent. They appealed for redress to Philip, as their superior Lord, who readily interposed in their behalf, and began to talk in a high and menacing stile to the king of England. The young duke of Brittany, who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both security and elevation by an union with Philip and the malecontent barons. He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities against the king of England ; their progress was rapid ; and Philip insisted that John should resign all his transmarine dominions to his nephew, and rest contented with the kingdom of England.

An event, however, soon happened, which seemed to give John a decisive superiority over his enemies. Young Arthur was taken prisoner, while he was besieging the queen mother in the castle of Mirebeau, and afterwards inhumanely murdered by his uncle, in order to prevent all future danger from his pretensions. It is reported, that John coming in a boat, during the night-time, to the castle of Rouen, where Arthur was confined, commanded his nephew to be brought forth to him. The young prince, aware of his danger, threw himself on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy ; but the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, stabbed him with his own hands ; and fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine. This inhuman deed excited general horror ; the Britons determined to revenge the murder of their prince ; and Philip seeing so favourable an opportunity, formed the design of expelling the English, or rather the English king from France, and of annexing his dominions to his own kingdom, from which they had originally been dismembered. The general defection of John's vassals, the desertion of
many

many of the English barons, who secretly returned to their own country, and above all, the imbecility and inactivity of the king, made every enterprise against him easy and successful. After a few feeble efforts, he abandoned by a scandalous flight his foreign dominions, and returned loaded with disgrace to England. The progress of Philip met with little resistance; and Normandy, together with almost all the transmarine provinces, submitted to the conqueror.

In an age when personal valour was so highly esteemed, such cowardly and irresolute conduct as that of John must have exposed him to universal contempt; but new affronts and disgraces awaited him in a contest which he had with the church.

1207.—Upon the death of Hubert, the primate, the junior monks of Christ's Church, Canterbury, clandestinely chose Reginald their sub-prior for the successor, and immediately sent him to Rome, to solicit the confirmation of his election. Reginald having imprudently revealed the purpose of his journey, the king, the suffragan bishops, and the senior monks, concurred to condemn the measures which had been taken. John submitted the new election wholly to the monks, and only informed them privately that they would do him an acceptable service if they chose John de Gray bishop of Norwich. That prelate was unanimously elected; but the suffragans, displeased at their exclusion, sent an agent to maintain their cause before the pontiff, while the king and the convent of Christ Church despatched twelve monks of that order to support the election of the bishop of Norwich. The claims of Reginald, and of the suffragans, were soon set aside; but Innocent, who then filled the papal chair, and who possessed abilities sufficient to assert and extend the rights of the priesthood, maintained that Reginald's election not being annulled by the pope, that of the bishop of Norwich was equally uncanonical. He sent for the twelve monks, and commanded them to elect cardinal Langton for their primate. John was inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome. He expelled

elled the monks of Christ Church whom he found inclined to support the election made by their fellows at Rome. Innocent prognosticating from the violence and imprudence of these measures, that John would finally sink in the contest, persevered in his pretensions, and, to compel the king to obedience, laid the kingdom under an interdict. The nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of religion; every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and, of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance and indignation.

The king, in return, confiscated the estates of the clergy, who obeyed the interdict, and treated with the utmost rigour all Langton's adherents. The quarrel between the king and the see of Rome continued for some years, during which the king was daily adding to the number of his enemies by acts of cruelty and oppression.

The court of Rome, finding that the interdict had not produced the desired effect on John, at length fulminated the sentence of excommunication against him. Upon this, most of the bishops retired from the kingdom, and many of the nobility, whom John had never consulted in any measure, but frequently offended by his tyranny, followed their example. John desired a conference with Langton, and offered to acknowledge him as primate; but the demands of Langton were exorbitant, and the conference was finally broken off. The next gradation of papal sentences, was to absolve John's subjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance. John still persevering in his contumacy, there remained nothing but the sentence of deposition; and as the execution of this required an armed force, the pontiff fixed his eyes on Philip, king of France, and offered him the property and possession of the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour, (1213.) Though it was the common concern of all princes to oppose the exorbitant pretensions of the pope, Philip, seduced by present interest, accepted the offer, and levied a force which seemed equal to the greatness of the enterprise. The king

king assembled at Dover an army of 60,000 men ; but they were not united in affection to their prince, nor animated with a becoming zeal for the defence of their native country. John, terrified at the danger of his situation, yielded at discretion, and subscribed to all the conditions which Pandolf, the pope's legate, was pleased to impose on him. In order to disappoint the French invasion, he put himself under the immediate protection of the pope, and even agreed to hold his dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of 1000 merks, 700 for England, and 300 for Ireland. The exiled prelates returned in triumph, with Langton at their head ; the clergy were restored to their offices and possessions ; and the anathemas pronounced against John were gradually recalled. Philip, enraged by disappointment, determined, notwithstanding the pope's prohibition, to persevere in what he had undertaken ; but being deserted by the Earl of Flanders, and his fleet being destroyed by that of the English, he found it impossible to proceed any farther in his enterprize. John even went over to Poictou, which still acknowledged his authority, and carried war into Philip's dominions ; but the approach of prince Lewis, Philip's son, soon obliged him to return with disgrace into England. But the last and most grievous of this prince's misfortunes still awaited him.

Notwithstanding the charters granted by former monarchs, the power of the crown was almost unlimited, and the nation during an hundred and fifty years, had been governed by an authority unknown in the same degree, to all the kingdoms founded by the northern conquerors. The barons and people, however, had arms in their hands, and, by a general confederacy, might still vindicate their liberties. The present seemed a favourable opportunity, when the throne was filled by a prince of the meanest abilities, and who was become odious to men of all ranks. At a private meeting of some principal barons, Langton, the primate, shewed them a copy of Henry I.'s charter, which he found in a monastery ; and he exhorted

them to insist on the renewal and observance of it; the barons swore that they would sooner part with their life than depart from so reasonable a demand. At a second, and more numerous meeting, it was unanimously agreed, that after Christmas they should prefer in a body a petition, requesting the renewal of Henry's charter, and the restoration of the laws of St Edward. The king required a delay, and promised to give an answer at the festival of Easter. During this interval, he endeavoured to avail himself of the ecclesiastical power, and appealed to the pope against the violence of the barons. Innocent, who had no hopes of retaining his authority over England, but by supporting so base and degenerate a prince as John, who would sacrifice every thing to his present safety, was inclined to favour his pretensions. But the barons had gone too far to recede, and their passions were so deeply engaged, that it exceeded even the power of superstition itself to controul them. Fortunately for their cause, the English ecclesiastics were not so entirely devoted, as formerly, to the apostolic see, which had excited their jealousy by endeavouring to centre the whole power of the church in itself. On the approach of Easter, the barons assembled a great force at Stamford; and the king having positively refused their demands, they proceeded to make war upon him. Their arms were every where successful; and a conference was appointed at Runnemeade, a place which has ever since been extremely celebrated on account of this event. Here the king signed the Magna Charta, or Great Charter, whereby great liberties and privileges were either granted or secured to all orders of men; to the clergy, the barons, and the people. The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands; and a council of twenty-five was chosen from their own body, as conservators of the public liberty, who had power to enforce the observations of the Charter.

John seemed passively to submit to these regulations, but he only dissembled till he should find a favourable opportunity of annulling all his concessions. He procured a bull from the pope, abrogating the charter, and absolving him and his subjects from the oath which they had sworn to maintain it; he enlisted foreign mercenaries, by means of his emissaries; and with these he proceeded to the reduction of the barons, who seem to have been lulled into a fatal security, and to have taken no rational measures, in case of the introduction of a foreign force, for re-assembling their troops. The king marched from one end of the kingdom to the other, laying waste the provinces on each side of him. In this extremity, the barons made application to the court of France, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged king. Lewis arrived with an army to their assistance; and the first effect of his appearance was the desertion of John's foreign troops, who being mostly levied in the provinces of France, refused to serve against the heir of their monarchy. Many noblemen likewise deserted John's party; and the barons had the melancholy prospect of succeeding in their purpose, and of escaping the tyranny of their own king, by imposing on themselves a foreign yoke. But jealousies and discontents having broken out between the French and English nobles, and many of the latter having gone over to John, the French prince had reason to dread a sudden reverse of fortune. John determined to fight one great battle for his crown; but, passing from Lynne to Lincolnshire, his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high water, and not chusing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his treasure, baggage, and regalia. Affliction for this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state of his affairs, increased the sickness under which he then laboured; and

and though he reached the castle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his distemper soon after put an end to his life, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and eighteenth of his reign. The nation was thus freed from the danger, to which it was equally exposed by his success, or by his misfortunes, and from one of the weakest, most odious, and most vicious princes who ever sat on the English throne.

CHAPTER X.

HENRY III. 1216.

HENRY, John's eldest son, was only nine years of age at the time of his father's death. The earl of Pembroke, mareschal of England, who had maintained his loyalty unshaken to John during the lowest fortune of that monarch, caused the young prince to be immediately crowned king; and a general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm. In order to reconcile all men to the authority of the new king, the Great Charter, with a few alterations, was renewed and confirmed; and Pembroke wrote letters to all the malecontent barons, exhorting them to return to their allegiance. The party of Lewis daily decreased, the French army was defeated at Lincoln, and a great many men were taken prisoners; a fleet, which was bringing succours, was attacked and routed by the English. Lewis, anxious for his own safety, concluded a peace with Pembroke, promised to evacuate the kingdom, and only stipulated, in return, an indemnity to his adherents, a restitution to their honours and fortunes, and an enjoyment of those liberties which had been granted to the rest of the nation.

The earl of Pembroke, who did not long survive the pacification, was succeeded in the government by Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciary. The regency found
great

great difficulty in restraining the licentious barons ; and, during the minority, the people, no less than the king, suffered from their outrages and disorders. Hubert applied to the pope for a bull declaring the king to be of age ; in consequence of which, he resigned into Henry's hands the important fortresses of the tower and Dover castle, which had been entrusted to his custody, and required the other barons to imitate his example. After some opposition, they were obliged, by the interference of the clergy, who were the great links of society in that barbarous age, to comply with this requisition.

1231.—As the king grew up to man's estate, his character became every day better known, and he was found altogether unqualified to govern those turbulent barons, whom the feudal system had subjected to his authority. Humane and merciful, but destitute of vigour and activity, he was too feeble to sway, in those disorderly times, a sceptre, the weight of which depended on the firmness and dexterity of the hand which held it. In some moment of caprice, or for some frivolous crimes which were objected to him, he dismissed Hubert de Burgh, the ablest, and the most virtuous minister he ever possessed ; and Peter, bishop of Winchester, succeeded him in the government of the king and kingdom. But the ministry of Peter was of short duration. Being a Poitevin by birth, he invited over a great many of his countrymen, and bestowed upon them every office and command. The insolence and rapacity of these foreigners, drew on them the hatred and envy of all orders of men ; and the minister who supported them, a man of a violent and arbitrary character, was dismissed at the intercession of the primate, who threatened the king with excommunication in case of a refusal.

1236.—But the English in vain flattered themselves that they would be long free from the dominion of foreigners. The King having married Eleanor, daughter of the count de Provence, was surrounded by a great number of strangers from that country, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched

with an imprudent generosity. His mother, Isabella, upon the death of the late king, had married the count de la Marche, to whom she was formerly betrothed, and had born him four sons, whom she sent over to England to visit their brother. The riches and honours conferred on these new favourites, occasioned as many discontents as the former; frequent violations of the Great Charter were complained of; the barons neglected to attend the parliament or great council. What made the partiality to foreigners more intolerable to the English was, that nothing was done for the honour of the nation; and the king, instead of defending his dominions when they were insulted, or undertaking any enterprise glorious to himself, or to the public, only complained to the pope as his superior lord, and begged him to give protection to his vassal.

Ecclesiastical usurpations and exactions were likewise very burthensome to the English during this reign. The pope not only assumed the right of appointing to the see of Canterbury, but also demanded and obtained the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues. The principal benefices were conferred on Italians. Otho the legate is said to have carried more money out of the kingdom than he left in it. Agents were sent to state the grievances of the English to a council held at Lyons; but they obtained only an evasive answer from the pope. At this council, mention having been made of the feudal subjection of England to the see of Rome, the earl of Norfolk exclaimed against the pretension, and the popes seem thenceforth to have little insisted on their claim.

1255.—The king was about this time loaded with an immense expence, in consequence of an insidious proposal made by the pope, who offered the kingdom of Sicily to Henry's second son, on condition that he would supply him with the money necessary for its conquest. Henry applied to the parliament for supply, but they refused to take his demands into consideration. In this extremity the clergy was his only resource; and a tenth was levied on all ecclesiastical benefices

benefices for three years. Notwithstanding the pope's exorbitant demands, the conquest of Sicily was as remote as ever; and Henry at last began to think of breaking off the agreement, and of resigning into the pope's hands, that crown which it was never intended that he or his family should ever possess. About the same time, Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, who had been elected king of the Romans, in hopes of succeeding to the imperial throne, found his object frustrated, and that he had lavished away the frugality of a whole life, merely to procure a splendid title.

1258.—The weak and arbitrary government of Henry, his partiality to foreigners, together with the discontents of the barons, encouraged Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, who was married to the king's sister, and was son of that famous Simon de Mountfort, who had conducted the famous crusade against the Albigenses, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hand which held it. He secretly assembled the most considerable barons, who went in a body, clad in complete armour, to a parliament which Henry had summoned in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian projects. They there stated their intention of granting him large supplies, but told the king, that, as his government had occasioned numberless complaints, he must yield to more strict regulations, and confer authority on those who were able and willing to redress the national grievances. Henry, partly allured by the hopes of supply, and partly intimidated by the union and martial appearance of the barons, agreed to their demand; and a new parliament, afterwards denominated the *mad parliament*, was summoned at Oxford, to settle the new plan of government. Twenty-four barons, twelve chosen by the king, and twelve by the parliament, were appointed with unlimited power to reform the state. They ordered that four knights from each county should give in a list of grievances; and they proceeded to enact such regulations, termed the provisions of Oxford,

as were most necessary for redressing those abuses which were most notorious. But the barons soon discovered their intention of usurping perpetual authority; and, having displaced the chief officers of the crown, and gotten possession of all the castles, they obliged the subjects, on pretence that the purpose of their election was not yet effected, to swear an oath of obedience to all their regulations, known and unknown. But their proceedings soon occasioned universal murmuring and complaints; and the cry became loud in the nation, that they should finish their intended regulations. After having enjoyed the sovereign power for near three years, and having employed it not for the reformation of the state, but for their own aggrandizement, dissensions broke out among the barons themselves, and seemed to promise Henry certain success in any attempt to resume his authority. Leicester retired to France; the earl of Gloucester secretly deserted to the crown; and Henry applied to the pope for an absolution from his oaths and engagements. The same indulgence was procured for all his subjects, who had sworn to observe the provisions of Oxford; but Edward, the young prince, who now began to give indications of that great character, which afterwards appeared more fully in the course of his life, refused for a long time to take advantage of it, and by this scrupulous fidelity, acquired the confidence of all parties.

1262.—The king, as soon as he had received the pope's absolution, resumed the government, removed the ministers appointed by the barons, substituted new sheriffs in all the counties, placed new governors in most of the castles, and summoned a parliament, in which the resumption of his authority was ratified with only five dissenting voices. Leicester was not discouraged; he endeavoured to strengthen his party among the barons; and he entered into a confederacy with David, prince of Wales, who invaded England with 30,000 men. This was the signal for the discontented barons to rise in arms; and Leicester, coming over secretly from France, collected all the
forces

forces of his party, and commenced an open rebellion. He was supported by the populace of the cities, particularly of London, and by all the disorderly ruffians in England, whom the hopes of plunder had allured to his party. The royal demesnes were ravaged; the estates belonging to the barons of the king's party were pillaged without mercy; Prince Edward, its life and soul, was taken prisoner in a parley at Windsor; and, to such a height had the violence and fury of Leicester's faction risen, that the king, unable to resist their power, was obliged to set on foot a treaty of peace, and to make an accommodation with the barons on the most disadvantageous terms. Edward, having recovered his liberty by the treaty, gave new spirit to his party; and hostilities, which were scarcely well composed, were again renewed in every part of England. Both sides at length agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of Lewis IX. king of France, a prince of the most singular character, who, to the superstition of the monk, united the courage and magnanimity of the hero, the justice and integrity of the patriot, the mildness and humanity of the philosopher. His decision, which, though it did not derogate from the liberties and privileges granted by former charters, yet preserved unimpaired the prerogatives of the crown, gave great offence to Leicester and his associates; and they determined again to have recourse to arms. The king and prince prepared for their defence, and a decisive battle was fought at Lewes in Sussex, (May 14. 1264). In the beginning of the action, the Londoners, who led the van of Leicester's army, were routed by the prince, and chased off the field; but Edward's martial ardour carrying him too far, the rest of the royal army was defeated with great slaughter, and the king himself, together with the king of the Romans, taken prisoners. The prince was obliged to submit to Leicester's terms, which were, that he and Henry d'Allmaine, son to the king of the Romans, should surrender themselves as prisoners, in lieu of the two kings, and that application

be made to the king of France, that he would name six Frenchmen; these to choose two other of their countrymen; and these two to choose one Englishman, who, in conjunction with themselves, were to make what regulations they thought proper for the settlement of the kingdom. Leicester having thus gotten the whole of the royal family into his power, openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as sole master, and even tyrant of the kingdom. He still detained the king in effect a prisoner, and made use of that prince's authority to purposes the most prejudicial to his interests, and the most oppressive of his people. No farther mention was made of the reference to the king of France. In a parliament, consisting altogether of Leicester's own partizans, it was enacted that the royal power should be exercised by a council of nine persons, who were to be chosen and removed by a majority of three; Leicester himself, the earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester, who was entirely under Leicester's direction. To increase his popularity, he summoned a new parliament at London, to which, besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire; and, what is more remarkable, of deputies from the boroughs. This period is commonly esteemed the epoch of the House of Commons; which, though it derived its existence from so precarious and invidious an origin as Leicester's usurpation, soon proved, when summoned by the legal princes, one of the most useful, and, in process of time, one of the most powerful members of the national constitution. But Leicester's arbitrary conduct disgusted many of the barons, particularly the earl of Gloucester, his confederate, who retired to his estates on the borders of Wales. Leicester followed him with an army to Hereford, and carried along with him prince Edward, who, with the consent of Leicester, had been declared free by the barons, but still continued to be strictly guarded by the emissaries of that nobleman. Here he found means,
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while taking the air with some of his guards, to make his escape on a horse of extraordinary swiftness, sent him by Gloucester, after having tried the horses of his attendants, by making matches between them. The royalists immediately flew to arms; and Edward found himself at the head of an army which Leicester was utterly unable to withstand. He surprised at Kenilworth, and dispersed an army brought to the assistance of that nobleman, by his son Simon de Montfort. Leicester himself was defeated and killed in a battle fought at Evesham; and the whole kingdom soon submitted to the royal arms. The mild disposition of the king, and the prudence of the prince, tempered the insolence of victory, and gradually restored order to the several members of the state, disjoined by so long a continuance of civil wars and commotions.

1270.—Prince Edward, finding the kingdom tolerably composed, was seduced by his avidity for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land. He there signified himself by acts of valour, and revived the glory of the English name in those parts; but he was soon recalled by the death of the king, who expired at St Edmundsbury, in the 64th year of his age, and 56th of his reign; the longest reign that is to be met with in the English annals.

CHAPTER XI.

EDWARD I. 1292.

THE council, apprehensive of dangerous consequences from the absence of the successor, hastened to proclaim Edward king; and all orders of men, from the esteem and affection they bore to that prince, remained in quiet submission to the government. Edward spent a year in France, before he made his appearance in England. On his arrival at London, he was received with joyful acclamations by his people, and solemnly crowned at Westminster, by Robert archbishop of Canterbury.

The king immediately applied himself to the re-establishment of his kingdom. He was careful to suppress all violence and disorder, and to extirpate those confederacies of robbers which then infested the nation. He not only made it a rule to observe the articles of the Great Charter, in his conduct towards the barons, but also insisted upon their observance of the same charter towards their vassals and inferiors. But, amidst the excellent institutions and public-spirited plans of Edward, there still appears somewhat of the severity of his personal character, and of the prejudices of the times. A great many of the Jews were put to death on suspicion of adulterating the coin; the rest were treated with the greatest cruelty and rigour; no less than 15000 of them were at this time robbed

robbed of their effects, and banished the kingdom; and very few of that nation have since lived in England.

1284.—Edward soon after undertook and completed the conquest of Wales, an object which none of his predecessors, notwithstanding their superiority of force, had ever been able to accomplish. Lewellyn, their prince, was killed in battle: David, his brother, who succeeded him in the principality, was taken prisoner, tried, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, for defending the liberties of his native country. All the Welsh nobility submitted to the conqueror; and the laws of England, with the sheriffs and other principalities, were established in that principality. All the Welsh bards were, from a barbarous, though not absurd policy, put to death. A vulgar story prevails, that Edward assembling the Welsh, promised to give them a prince of an unexceptionable character, a Welshman by birth, and one who could speak no other language: On their acclamations of joy, and promise of obedience, he invested in the principality his son Edward, then an infant, who had been born in Carnarvon; and the principality of Wales henceforth gives a title to the eldest son of the kings of England.

The affairs of Scotland, which gave rise to the most interesting transactions of this reign, and of some of the subsequent, must now engage our attention. Margaret, daughter to the king of Norway, and granddaughter to Alexander III. king of Scotland, was, by the death of that monarch, become heir to the Scottish crown. Edward, in order to unite the whole island into one monarchy, and thereby to give it security both against domestic convulsions and foreign invasions, proposed a marriage betwixt Margaret and his son Edward; the states of Scotland readily gave their assent to the proposal, and even agreed that the young princess should be educated in the court of Edward. But the sudden death of Margaret, who expired on her passage to Scotland, put an end to this project, and left room for a disputed succession. The posteri-

ty of William, the prince taken prisoner by Henry II. were now extinct. The right to the crown devolved on the issue of David earl of Huntingdon, his brother, whose male line was also extinct. David had three daughters; the eldest was married to Allan Lord of Galloway, and left one daughter married to John Baliol, by whom she had a son of the same name, one of the competitors for the crown; the second was married to the lord of Annandale, and brought him a son, named Robert Bruce, who also insisted on his claim. Baliol and Bruce united against John Hastings, son to the third daughter, who pretended that the kingdom was divisible; but each of them, supported by plausible reasons, asserted the preference of his own claim. Baliol was sprung from the elder branch; Bruce was one degree nearer the common stock. The sentiments of men were divided; all the nobility had taken part on one side or other; and, to prevent a civil war, both parties agreed to refer the dispute to the arbitration of Edward.

Edward laid hold of this opportunity, if not to create, at least to revive his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland. He advanced with an army to the borders, and invited the Scottish parliament, and all the competitors, to attend him in the castle of Northampton, situated on the south side of the Tweed. He here informed them that he was come thither to determine the right among the competitors to their crown, and that he was intitled to this authority, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of superior and liege lord of the kingdom. The Scottish parliament were astonished at this new pretension; but they were overawed to submission, at least to silence. Edward required likewise an acknowledgement of his superiority from the competitors, and found them all equally obsequious. He next proceeded to the discussion of the controversy. He gave orders that Baliol should choose forty commissioners, and Bruce forty more, to whom he added twenty-four Englishmen; these were to examine the case, and to report to him; and

and he promised to give his determination in the ensuing year. He at length pronounced sentence in favour of Baliol; put him in possession of the kingdom, and restored to him all the fortresses, which, on pretence that he might have it in his power to enforce his decision, he had required to be delivered into his hands. It soon appeared that Edward aimed not merely at feudal superiority, but also at absolute sovereignty, and dominion over the kingdom. He encouraged all appeals to England; he required king John himself, by six different summonses, on trivial occasions, to come to London; and he obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. These humiliating demands were hitherto unknown to a king of Scotland; and Baliol determined at all hazards to vindicate his liberty. A war, which broke out betwixt France and England, and which originated in a quarrel betwixt some Norman and English sailors at a watering place, gave him a favourable opportunity of executing his purpose. He entered into an alliance with the French king; and thus laid the foundation of that strict union, which, during so many centuries, was maintained between the French and Scottish nations. Upon receiving intimation of this treaty, Edward required the king of Scots to furnish him with a supply of forces against an invasion from France, with which he was then threatened, and meeting with a refusal, marched northward with numerous forces, 30,000 foot, and 4000 horse, to chastise his rebellious vassal. His arms were every where successful; the Scots were defeated with great slaughter, in a battle fought near Dunbar; and the castle of that place, which was defended by the flower of the nobility, immediately surrendered. After a feeble resistance, the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling opened their gates to the enemy. Edward marched northward to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy. Baliol hastened to make his submissions, was carried prisoner to London; and, being restored to liberty two years after, submitted

submitted to a voluntary banishment in France, where he died in a private station. Edward, after leaving earl Warrene governor of Scotland, and destroying all the records and monuments of antiquity, which might preserve the memory of the independence of the kingdom, returned with his victorious army to England, carrying with him the famous stone, which was preserved at Scone, and which the Scots considered as the great palladium of their liberty.

The war with France had now been carried on several years. Philip had by an artifice gotten possession of Guienne; and several attempts made by the English to recover it, had proved unsuccessful. Edward, after his Scottish expedition, had married his daughter, Elisabeth, to the earl of Holland, had entered into an alliance with the earl of Flanders; and, reinforced by his German allies, he purposed to attack France from that quarter. But both parties soon became willing to come to an accommodation, and the dispute was at length referred to the pope. Guienne was restored to the English; and Edward agreed to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally the king of Scots. This was the first specimen which the Scots had of the French alliance, and which was exactly conformable to what a smaller power must always expect when it blindly attaches itself to the will and fortunes of a greater.

The expences attending these multiplied wars of Edward obliged him to have frequent intercourse to parliamentary supplies, introduced the lower orders of the state into the public councils, and laid the foundation of great changes in the government. His arbitrary measures and exorbitant exactions, however, occasioned frequent discontents in the kingdom; and, under the government of a weaker prince, would have kindled a civil war in England. While he was absent in Flanders, carrying on the war against the king of France, some of the most powerful of the nobility extorted from the council a confirmation of
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the Great Charter. The Charter was sent over to the king, who, notwithstanding his reluctance, was obliged, by the circumstances of his affairs, to ratify it. Upon his return to England, he renewed his confirmation in the fullest manner; so that the Great Charter was finally established, after a contest of near a century; and the English have the honour of extorting this concession from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious of their princes.

1298.—In the mean time, the Scots, under the conduct of William Wallace, a man of small fortune, but descended from an ancient family, possessed of gigantic force of body, of the most heroic courage, and of an ardent desire of liberty, had erected the standard of revolt. Having defeated the English army under earl Warrene, they obliged the enemy to evacuate the kingdom; and, choosing Wallace for their leader, they made an inroad into England, and returned loaded with spoils to their own country. Edward, on his return from Flanders, collected the whole military force of his kingdom, and marched northward with a great army, in certain hopes of wiping off this disgrace, and of recovering the important conquest of Scotland. A battle was fought at Falkirk, wherein the Scots were totally defeated. In the general route of the army, Wallace, who, to remove all cause of jealousy and suspicion, had resigned the chief command to the steward of Scotland; and Cummin of Badenoch, preserved entire his small body of followers, and, retiring behind the Carron, marched leisurely along the banks of the river. Here he had a conference with young Bruce, who served in Edward's army, and who appeared on the opposite bank; and fired his mind with that patriotism, and that ardent love of liberty, which existed in his own breast. This nobleman repented of his engagements with the English monarch, and opening his eyes to the honourable path which Wallace pointed out to him, secretly determined to seize the first opportunity

opportunity of embracing the cause, however desperate, of his oppressed country.

The English army were obliged to retire for want of provisions, and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives. Application was made by pope Boniface in behalf of Scotland, and a reply was made by Edward, deducing the superiority of England over Scotland from the most ancient times. The advantages gained by Edward, however, were hitherto precarious and uncertain; and the Scots, inured to war, began to appear a formidable enemy, even to this ambitious and military monarch. Three victories were gained in one day over John de Segrave, who had been left guardian of the kingdom; and it became necessary for Edward to begin anew the conquest of Scotland. He returned with a powerful fleet and army, marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, and reduced the nation entirely to submission. Wallace was taken prisoner in his retreat, carried in chains to London, tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submissions, or sworn fealty to England, and executed on Tower-hill. Such was the unworthy fate of a hero, who, through a course of many years, had, with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, sufficient to have excited the love and admiration even of an enemy, defended the liberties of his native country.

1306.—The Scots soon found a new and more fortunate leader in the person of Robert Bruce, grandson of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown. This young nobleman having made his escape from the court of Edward, suddenly appeared in a meeting of the nobility at Dumfries, to whom he communicated his design of asserting the rights of his family, and opened the joyful prospect of recovering their ancient and hereditary independence. The whole assembly, excepting John Cumin, who was assassinated by Bruce upon his leaving the meeting, zealously embraced his cause; Bruce was solemnly crowned

crowned and inaugurated at Scone; and his authority was soon acknowledged in all parts of the kingdom. The Scots, however, were defeated by the English under Aymer de Valence, at Methven in Perthshire; and Bruce, with a few followers, took shelter in the Western Isles. Edward himself, having assembled a great army, was preparing to enter the the frontiers, secure of success, and determined to make the defenceless Scots the victims of his severity, when he unexpectedly sickened and died near Carlisle, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Edward, however exceptionable his character may appear on the head of justice, is certainly the model of a warlike and politic king. The improvement which the English law received during his reign, has procured him the name of the English Justinian.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD II.

EDWARD was succeeded by his son of the same name, a youth of a mild and gentle disposition, but of too feeble a character for the situation in which he was placed. The first proof he gave of his weakness was to disband his army, and to return to England, thereby abandoning at least, for the present, that enterprise which his father had so much at heart; and which he had recommended to his son in his dying moments. He was fondly attached to a favourite, named Piers Gavaston, son of a Gascon knight; he had endowed him with the whole earldom of Cornwall; and, having taken a journey to France, both in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne, and to espouse Isabella, daughter of the king of France, to whom he had been long affianced, he had appointed his minion guardian of the realm. The great influence and imprudent conduct of Gavaston gave great offence to the nobility. Headed by the earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and the most powerful subject in England, they appeared in parliament with an armed retinue, and compelled the king to banish his favourite. But Edward, instead of removing all umbrage, by sending him to his own country, appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and soon after procured for him a dispensation from

an oath, which the barons had compelled him to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm. The nobles, however, were determined to persist in their demands; and having assembled an armed retinue, they obliged the king to sign a commission, empowering the prelates and barons to elect twelve persons, who should, till the term of Michaelmas in the year following, have authority to enact ordinances for the government of the kingdom, and for the regulation of the king's household. By one of these ordinances, evil counsellors were removed from the king, and Piers Gavaston himself was banished the king's dominions, under the penalty, in case of disobedience, of being declared a public enemy. The king, however, having retired to York, invited back his favourite, and reinstated him in his former credit and authority. The nobles saw that the ruin of Gavaston or of themselves was now inevitable. The earl of Lancaster suddenly raised an army, and marched to York, where he found the king had already marched to Newcastle. He flew thither in pursuit of him; and Edward had just time to escape to Tinmouth, where he embarked and sailed with Gavaston to Scarborough. He left his favourite in this fortress, and marched to York, in hopes of raising an army to oppose his enemies; but Gavaston was taken prisoner, and, without regard either to the laws or the military capitulation, his head was struck off by the hands of the executioner. The king, enraged at the death of his favourite, threatened vengeance on all the nobility who had been active in that bloody scene; but he was less constant in his enmities, than in his attachments, and he soon after hearkened to terms of accommodation.

In the mean time, Robert Bruce leaving his fastnesses, after the retreat of Edward, had made great progress in the recovering of Scotland from the English; and the whole kingdom, except the castles of Stirling and Berwick, had submitted to his authority. Edward assembled forces from all quarters, and entered

tered Scotland at the head of a numerous army, in expectation of finishing, by one decisive blow, the reduction of that kingdom. A great battle was fought at Bannockburn, near Stirling, in which the English were totally defeated, and pursued with great slaughter till they reached Berwick. (June 25. 1311.) This victory secured the independence of Scotland, and fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom. The Scots afterwards made several incursions into England, and even invaded Ireland; but, the latter project, too extensive for their force, soon vanished into smoke.

The misfortunes of Edward encouraged the factious nobility, who endeavoured to establish their own independence on the ruins of the throne. Lancaster was placed at the head of the council, and the ministry was new modelled by his direction. Since the death of Gavaston, Edward had placed his affections on a young man, named Hugh le Despenser, whose father had likewise attained great influence over the king. The elevation of this family excited the envy of the great barons, who began to form violent schemes for their ruin. Having entered into an association, they advanced to London with their forces, required the king immediately to dismiss the Spensers, and compelled the parliament to pass a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against these ministers. Edward having soon after assembled a force, in order to punish an insult which the queen received from lord Badlesmere, thought of turning his arms against the barons, who, having disbanded their army, were totally unprepared for resistance. He recalled the two Spensers, and marched against Lancaster and others of the barons, who had begun to assemble their vassals and retainers. This nobleman had formed an alliance with the Scots, and fled with his army to the north, in expectation of assistance from that quarter; but, when he arrived at Boroughbridge, he found Sir Andrew Harcla posted with some forces on the opposite side of the river. In an attempt to force his way, he was taken prisoner, and, being condemned

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by a court martial, he was publicly beheaded with every possible insult and indignity. Spenser knew not how to temper the insolence of victory; his rapacity was insatiable, and disgusted even the barons of the king's party; the violence, and, at the same time, weakness of the government, brought the favourite into universal hatred, and the king into general contempt. Edward, after one fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence, he retreated with dishonour, found it necessary to terminate hostilities against that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years.

But a more formidable enemy soon appeared in queen Isabella, who entertained a violent jealousy and hatred against Spenser, who had gone over to Paris, in order to adjust some differences with her brother, the king of France, and who, living in the open indulgence of a criminal passion for Robert Mortimer, one of the most powerful barons of the Lancastrian faction, graciously received all the exiles of that party, and entered with ardour into all their conspiracies. Having gotten into her possession the young prince, now thirteen years of age, who had come over to do homage for the duchy of Guienne; she resolved on the utter ruin of the king, as well as of the favourite; and when Edward required her speedy return, she publicly declared that she would never set foot in the kingdom, till Spenser was for ever removed from his presence and councils. In England, every thing was ripe for a revolt, and there needed but the appearance of the queen and prince, with a body of foreign troops, to arm the people against their king. Isabella, in order to procure the alliance of some foreign potentate, affiances young Edward to Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland; and having, by the open assistance of this prince, and the secret protection of her brother, enlisted in her service 3000 men, she set sail from Dort, and landed in Suffolk without opposition. She was joined by many of the nobility and prelates; and, as she declared that her sole purpose was to free the king and kingdom from the Spensers, the populace

lace were allured by her specious pretences. The king, after trying in vain to rouse the citizens of London, departed for the west, where he expected to meet with a better reception; but, being disappointed in his expectation with regard to the loyalty of these parts, he was at last discovered in the mountains of Wales, where he had endeavoured to conceal himself, and confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The two Spensers were put to death without the appearance of a legal trial.

A parliament was summoned, and, charges being exhibited against the king, he was deposed, and the prince placed on the throne. The dethroned monarch was first committed to the custody of the earl of Lancaster, brother and heir of the former earl; but, the fidelity of that nobleman being suspected, and the tide of public opinion beginning to turn in favour of the king, he was taken from his hands, and delivered to lord Berkley, Mantravers, and Gournay, each of whom guarded him for a month alternately. The two latter exercised towards him every species of indignity, and endeavoured to shorten his days by sorrow and affliction. But this method appearing too slow for the impatient Mortimer, the queen's paramour, he sent them orders instantly to dispatch Edward; and the unhappy monarch was murdered in the most cruel and barbarous manner, by the thrusting of a red hot iron into his bowels, which was introduced through a horn inserted into his fundament.

The misfortunes of this prince were owing to his weakness and incapacity for government, and not to any violence or vicious defect in his character. His facility and foolish attachment to favourites afforded the barons a pretence for insulting his person and invading his authority; and, the populace mistaking the source of their grievances, threw all the blame on the king, and increased the public disorders by their factions and violence.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD III.

THE party who had acted so violently in dethroning and murdering the late king, found it necessary to procure a parliamentary indemnity for their illegal proceedings; a council of regency was likewise appointed by parliament; and the earl of Lancaster was chosen guardian of the king's person.

The Scots, taking advantage of the situation of England, had broken into the frontiers, and were carrying on a desultory and very destructive war in those parts. The English regency prepared a numerous army to oppose them, and young Edward himself appeared at the head of his forces. But the rapid and unexpected marches of the enemy made it impossible for him to come up with them; and the Scots, after committing great devastations every where, returned without loss to their own country. Mortimer, who had usurped the whole sovereign authority, soon after entered into a negotiation with Robert Bruce, whereby, in virtue of the payment of 30,000 merks to England, he acknowledged Robert independent sovereign of Scotland.

But Mortimer, by his usurpations and abuses, was already become the object of public odium. He had procured the condemnation of the earl of Kent, the
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king's uncle, whom he persuaded that king Edward was still alive, and who had formed the design of restoring that monarch to liberty, and of reinstating him on the throne. Many other nobles and prelates were prosecuted on pretence of having assented to this conspiracy; the power of Mortimer became formidable to every one, and all parties conspired against him. The young prince, now in his eighteenth year, and feeling himself capable of governing, repined at being held in fetters by this insolent minister; but he was so closely besieged by the creatures of Mortimer, that it behoved him to conduct the project of subverting him with the same precaution as if he had been forming a conspiracy against his king. He communicated his intentions to some of the barons; Mortimer was suddenly seized in the castle of Nottingham, where he resided with the queen, and condemned to execution, by a parliament summoned on the occasion. Edward took the reins of government into his own hands, and applied himself, with the utmost industry and judgment, to the redress of grievances, the punishment of crimes, and the settlement of the kingdom.

The wise and valiant Robert Bruce was now dead, and was succeeded by his son, David, a minor. Many of the English nobles, who inherited estates in Scotland, had been deprived of their possessions, and began to think of vindicating their rights by force of arms. They invited Edward Baliol, son of that John who had been crowned king of Scotland, from France, where he resided as a private person, and having, with the connivance of Edward, assembled a considerable force, took shipping and landed on the coast of Fife. Scotland was at that time in a very different situation from what it was under the victorious Robert; an army of 40,000 men, assembled in haste by the regent, was defeated with great slaughter; Baliol was crowned king at Scone; and his competitor, David, was sent over to France, with his betrothed wife, Jane sister of Edward. But Baliol having dismissed his English forces, was suddenly attacked by
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Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chieftains of the party, and chaced into England in a miserable condition. He applied to Edward for assistance, and offered to acknowledge the superiority of England. That monarch, ambitious of recovering Scotland, prepared to reinstate him on the throne; he advanced northward; defeated the Scots in a great battle at Halidown-hill near Berwick, in which 30,000 Scots, and only 15 English, (an inequality almost incredible), were slain; and leaving a considerable body with Baliol to complete the conquest of that kingdom, returned to England. Baliol was acknowledged king by a parliament assembled at Edinburgh; Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties were ceded to the English. But no sooner were the English forces withdrawn, than the Scots revolted from Baliol, returned to their allegiance under Bruce, and soon reconquered their country from the English. Edward again made his appearance in Scotland, but with little success. He found every thing hostile in the kingdom, except the spot on which he was encamped; and, though he marched uncontrouled over the low countries, the nation itself was farther than ever from being broken and subdued.

Edward was soon after engaged in a war with France, in consequence of an unreasonable claim which he made to the throne of that kingdom. The three sons of Philip the Fair, who had successively filled the French throne, all died without male issue. By the law, or at least by the custom of France, the crown could never descend to a female; and consequently the succession devolved on Philip de Valois, nephew of Philip the Fair. But Edward had embraced a notion that he was intitled, in right of his mother, Isabella, daughter of that monarch, to the succession of the kingdom; and this idea was zealously encouraged by Robert of Artois, who was descended from the blood-royal of France, and who had sought refuge in England from the violence of Philip, his brother-in-law. The protection given by

Edward to this prince, and the support which the king of France gave to the Scots and the exiled David Bruce, heightened the animosity of the two monarchs, and both of them entered into alliances, and made preparations for settling their disputes by the sword.

Edward engaged in his cause, by means of promises and of remittances, the count of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the Flemings, and many of the German princes. Philip likewise made great preparations against the attack of the English, and entered into alliances more cordial and more powerful than those formed by his antagonist. The English monarch entered the French frontiers at the head of 50,000 men, and Philip approached him with an army of near double that force. But these mighty preparations vanished into smoke; and, after the two armies had faced each other for some days, Edward retired into Flanders, and disbanded his army.

Edward, though he had involved himself in many difficulties, and contracted an immense debt by this fruitless expedition, was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged. He returned to England, and obtained, though with difficulty, considerable supplies from the parliament, who now began to indicate a jealousy of the king's intentions, and to annex conditions to their grants. The French king, convinced from the preparations making both in England and the Low Countries, that he must expect another invasion, fitted out a fleet of 400 sail, manned with 40,000 men, to intercept Edward in his passage; an engagement took place, in which the English were victorious; 230 French ships were taken, and 30,000 Frenchmen were killed. This success increased Edward's authority among his allies, who assembled their forces with expedition, and joined the English army. He marched to the frontiers of France, at the head of above 100,000 men; Philip had assembled an army still more numerous; but, after some mutual bravadoes, a truce was concluded, which left both parties in possession of their present acquisitions,
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and stopped all further hostilities on the side of the Low Countries, Guienne, and Scotland, till midsummer next. Edward, harassed by his numerous and importunate creditors, returned privately to England. Irritated at the unfortunate issue of his military operations, he came over in a very bad humour; and, being determined to throw the blame somewhere off himself, he vented his anger on his ministers, the keepers of the tower, and the officers of revenue, most of whom were displaced and imprisoned. Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been entrusted with the collecting of the new taxes, fell likewise under his displeasure; but he prepared himself for the storm. He entered into a combination with the rest of the clergy; he even wrote a letter to the king, asserting the superiority of the pontifical to the regal authority; and, though Edward did not summon him to attend a parliament which he called on his arrival, he was at last obliged to permit him to take his seat, and to be reconciled to him.

Edward was now in a very disagreeable situation, with regard both to foreign states, and to his own people. His unjust claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with these two kingdoms; he had lost almost all his foreign alliances, and was deeply involved in debt. The parliament framed an act, which encroached greatly on the prerogatives of the crown, and was likely to produce great innovations in the government. They required the renewal of the Great Charter, both by Edward, and by the chief persons about his throne; that no peers should be punished, but by the award of his peers in parliament; that the great offices should be filled with the advice of the council; and that the ministers should annually give an account of their conduct. In return for these important concessions, they offered the king a grant of 20,000 sacks of wool; and his wants were so urgent, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. But, no sooner was he possessed of the supply,

than he annulled this statute by his own authority, and declared it to have no longer any force. No notice was taken of this arbitrary exertion of royal power; and in two years the obnoxious statute was legally repealed by parliament.

But a dispute about the succession to the duchy of Brittany, opened more promising views to Edward, and gave his enterprising genius a full opportunity of displaying itself. The two competitors were Charles of Blois, and the count of Mountfort; the latter of whom entered into an alliance with Edward for the support of their mutual pretensions. But that nobleman being taken prisoner by the duke of Normandy, Philip's eldest son, who had been sent with a powerful army to the assistance of Charles, an end seemed to be put to his pretensions, had not the countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of her age, supported, by her courage and activity, the falling fortunes of her family. Having engaged the Bretons in her cause, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience the arrival of those succours which Edward had promised her. She was vigorously besieged by the enemies in this fortress; and a capitulation was even set on foot, when the countess, who had mounted a high tower, descried some sails at a distance, and exclaimed, *Behold the succours, the English succours, no capitulation.* The arrival of these succours inspired fresh courage into the garrison; they immediately sallied forth, and obliged the enemy to decamp. A reinforcement was sent over under Robert of Artois; and, upon the death of this unfortunate prince, Edward undertook in person the defence of the countess of Mountfort. The war was now carried on in the name, and under the standard of the French and English monarchs. Edward landed at Mobian near Vannes with an army of 12,000 men; but the duke of Normandy appearing in Brittany at the head of 30,000 infantry, and 4000 cavalry, Edward hearkened willingly to the mediation of the Pope's legates, and a truce was concluded for three years.

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This truce was of short duration, and each monarch endeavoured to throw on the other the blame of its infraction. Edward having received large supplies from his parliament, sent the earl of Derby, a nobleman renowned for his justice and humanity, as well as for his valour and conduct, to the defence of Guienne. He not only performed this service, but also made a successful invasion on the enemy; and, having defeated the count of Lisle, went on without opposition in subduing the French provinces. The court of France being at length supplied with money, under the want of which it had long laboured, great preparations were made, and the duke of Normandy led towards Guienne a powerful army, which the English could not think of resisting in the open field. After several successes, however, he was called to another quarter of the kingdom, by one of the greatest disasters which ever befel the French monarchy.

Edward, informed of the danger of Guienne, had prepared a force for its relief; but, the winds proving long contrary, he was persuaded by Geoffrey D'Harcourt a French nobleman, who had been admitted into his councils, that an attack on Normandy would be a less difficult and more advantageous enterprize. He accordingly landed in that province, spread his army over the whole country, and gave them an unbounded license of burning, spoiling, and plundering every place of which they became masters. Caen was taken and pillaged; the English advanced towards Paris, destroying the whole country, and every town and village they met with on their way; some of their light troops carried their ravages even to the gates of that capital. But Philip had now assembled a great army, and Edward was in danger of being inclosed in the enemy's country. He, therefore, began to retreat towards Flanders, and had just crossed the Somme at a ford below Abbeville, when the French army made their appearance, but were prevented from passing by the return of the tide. But Edward, finding that a retreat would be attended with great danger, determined to await in tranquility the arrival of

the enemy, and posted his army in excellent order near the village of Crecy. Philip advanced with great precipitation, and was so eager to begin the combat, that he attacked the English without allowing his men time to recover from the fatigue of a long march. The victory was complete on the side of the English; the French were put to flight, and routed with great slaughter, having lost no less than 1200 knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, and 30,000 of inferior rank. The chief glory of this day was reaped by the young prince of Wales, who led the van of the army, and set an example of incredible valour. It is related by some historians, that Edward in this battle employed a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe. The king of Bohemia, who served in the French army, and who, though blind, resolved to hazard his person in the battle, was found among the slain. His crest was three Ostrich feathers, and his motto these German words, *Ich dien, I serve*; which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this victory.

After the battle of Crecy, Edward began the siege of Calais; and finding it impossible to attempt it by force, he purposed to reduce it by famine. The retreat of the duke of Normandy from Guienne left the earl of Derby master of the field; and he was not negligent in making his advantage of the superiority. In the mean time, David Bruce, king of Scotland, who had been recalled in 1342, had made an incursion into England at the head of a great army. But he was defeated by the English under queen Philippa, taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower. The town of Calais had now been besieged for a long time, and was reduced to the last extremity by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants. Philip approached to its relief with an immense army, but found it impossible to make any attempt on the English camp, which was strongly fortified and secured by entrenchments. Edward was highly incensed against the townsmen of Calais,

Calais, and determined to take exemplary vengeance on them; but he was at last persuaded to spare their lives, on condition that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, carrying the keys of the city, bareheaded and barefooted with ropes about their necks, to be disposed of as he thought proper. Eustace de St Pierre, whose name deserves to be recorded to posterity, first offered himself to death; the number was soon completed; and these heroic burghesses appearing before Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid the keys of the city at his feet, and were ordered to be led to execution. But their lives were spared at the intercession of the queen, who carried them into her tent, gave them a repast, and after making them presents, dismissed them in safety. Edward ordered all the inhabitants of Calais to evacuate the town, and peopled it anew with English; a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the dominion of that important fortress. A truce was soon after concluded, through the mediation of the popes legates. Edward came over to England, but afterwards returned to secure the fortress of Calais, which the governor, an Italian, had agreed to deliver into the hands of the French. Informed of his treachery, he promised to give him his life on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. A day was appointed for the admission of the French; a chosen band was admitted at the postern, with whose assistance the governor promised to open the great gate to the rest of the troops. But the French who entered were immediately slain or taken prisoners; the great gate was opened; Edward rushed forth with cries of battle and of victory; and most of the French overpowered, with numbers, and intercepted in their retreat, lost either their lives or their liberty. The king himself, who fought as a private man under Sir Walter Manny, was long engaged in a fierce and doubtful combat with Eustace de Ribeaumont, a French gentleman, who at length perceiving himself to be left almost alone, called out to his antagonist, *Sir knight, I yield myself*

your prisoner. Edward bestowed the highest encomiums on his valour, presented him with a string of pearls, which he wore about his own head, and dismissed him without ransom.

During the truce, Philip de Valois died, and was succeeded by his son John, whose government was greatly disturbed by the factious and intriguing spirit of Charles, king of Navarre. This prince, to insure himself of protection, entered into a secret correspondence with England; and the truce being now expired, Edward promised to support him, and purposed to attack France, both on the side of Guienne, under the command of the prince of Wales, and on that of Calais, in his own person. The king, after ravaging the open country, and finding that John declined an engagement, returned to England, in order to defend that kingdom against a threatened invasion of the Scots. As the disorders of France prevented any proper plan of defence, the prince of Wales carried on with impunity his ravages and devastations; and, after an incursion of six weeks, he returned with a vast booty to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. Encouraged by success, he next year took the field, and ventured to penetrate into the heart of France with an army of 12,000 men. But John, having collected an army of 60,000 men, advanced by hasty marches to intercept him; and Edward sensible that a retreat was impracticable, halted near Poitiers and prepared for battle. Notwithstanding the inferiority of numbers, the victory was decisive on the side of the English; the French were defeated with great slaughter, and the king himself was taken prisoner. Edward evidenced the true heroism of his character by the humanity and respect with which he treated the captive prince; and John received in captivity the honours of a king, which were refused him when seated on a throne. The prince, not being provided with forces so numerous as might enable him to push his present advantages, concluded a truce of two years with France, and conducted his prisoner to England. Here John had the melancholy consolation to see the
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king of Scots as his companion in affliction; but Edward, finding that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, consented to restore David Bruce to his liberty for the ransom of 100,000 merks Sterling.

Charles, the king of France's eldest son, the first who bore the title of Dauphin, naturally assumed the royal power during his father's captivity, which, joined to the preceding disorders of the French government, had produced in that country a dissolution almost total of civil authority, and had occasioned confusions the most horrible and destructive that had ever been experienced in any age or nation. Edward, during this favourable conjuncture, employed himself chiefly in negotiations with his prisoner John, who agreed to restore all the provinces which had been possessed by Henry II. and to annex them for ever to England. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected this treaty, so dishonourable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, prepared himself for a new invasion of France. He passed over to Calais, assembled an army of near 100,000 men, and laid waste the provinces of France with the most destructive ravages. But the dauphin conducted himself with such prudence as to prevent the English from gaining any important acquisition; and notwithstanding Edward's great victories and successes, the crown of France, the great object of the war, was no nearer being attained than at its commencement. Edward therefore hearkened to terms of peace, which was concluded at Bretagne, and which stipulated that king John should be restored to liberty upon paying a ransom of three millions of crowns of gold, about 1,500,000*l.* of our money; and that the full sovereignty of Guienne, and several provinces in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, should be vested in the crown of England. There has seldom been a treaty of so great importance so faithfully executed by both parties: But some difficulties occurring, John, in order to adjust the difference,

took the resolution of coming over to England, where he soon after sickened and died. He was succeeded by Charles the dauphin, a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified by his consummate prudence and experience to repair all the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors.

1367. Soon after this the prince of Wales, whom his father had invested in the sovereignty of the conquered provinces, by the title of the Principality of Aquitaine, engaged in an enterprize to restore Peter king of Castile, who had been driven from his dominions by Henry of Transtarvare, his natural brother. The prince finished this undertaking with his usual glory; but he had soon reason to repent of his connections with a man like Peter, abandoned to all sense of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant refused the stipulated pay to the English forces; and Edward, having returned to Guienne without receiving satisfaction, Peter was again attacked, dethroned, and put to death by his brother.

The declining years of Edward, and the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health, encouraged Charles to attempt regaining the provinces which Edward had dismembered from his kingdom. His arms were every where successful, being seconded by the friendly dispositions of the people, and the ardour of the French nobility; the English commanders were defeated in several engagements; the prince was obliged, by the state of his health, to return to his native country; and Edward, compelled by the necessity of his affairs, at last concluded a truce with the enemy, after almost all his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests except Calais.

The latter part of the king's reign was exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid and noisy scenes which had filled the beginning and middle of it. An attachment which he had formed to a lady, named Alice Pierce, gave general disgust; and the administration of his son the duke of Lancaster

Lancaster, into whose hands he had in a great measure resigned the reins of government, excited great jealousies and complaints. The English sustained a great loss by the death of the prince of Wales, commonly called the Black Prince, who died after a lingering illness, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and left a character illustrious for every eminent virtue, and, from his earliest youth till the hour he expired, unstained by any blemish. The king survived about a year this melancholy incident: he expired in the 65th year of his age, and the 51st of his reign, 1377, and the people were then sensible of the irreparable loss which they had sustained.

The order of the garter owes its institution to Edward. A vulgar story prevails, but it is not supported by any ancient authority, that, at a court ball, Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the Countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought he had not obtained this favour merely by accident; upon which he called out, *Honi soit qui mal y' pense*, Evil to him that evil thinks; and gave these words as the motto of the order which he instituted in memorial of this event. Though the reign of Edward was arbitrary, his frequent wars and great expences obliged him to consult his parliament on every important occasion, in order to obtain their approbation; and even the house of commons began to appear of some weight in the constitution. During this reign the authority of the court of Rome declined greatly in England; all appeals to it were forbidden; the old tribute was not paid; and the Pope was wholly deprived of his claim to the right of presenting to benefices.

CHAPTER XIV.

RICHARD II.

RICHARD succeeded his grandfather in the eleventh year of his age. But the peaceable manner in which the parliament was assembled, the habits of order and obedience which a long reign had produced, and the authority and different characters of the dukes of Lancaster, Gloucester, and York, made the change for a time scarcely perceptible, and served to repress the turbulent spirit of the barons. The succession to the crown was fixed by Edward; but, as he had provided no plan of government during the minority, the house of commons, which had been rising to consideration during the late reign, distinguished themselves by taking the lead on that occasion. As this house was now becoming a scene of business, a speaker was for the first time chosen, Peter de la Mare, a man obnoxious to the court; and they discovered a spirit of still greater liberty, by making several attacks on the ministers of the late king, and on Alice Pierce. Sensible, however, of their inferiority, they were afraid of assuming any immediate share in the government, or the management of the king's person. For these purposes they applied by petition to the Lords; who partly complied with the request, and appointed the
bishops

bishops of London, Carlisle, and Salisbury, the earls of Marche and Stafford, Sir Richard de Stafford, Sir Henry le Scrope, Sir John Devreux, and Sir Hugh Segrave, with full authority to conduct the ordinary course of business for one year. The commons afterwards failed in an attempt to have the appointment of all the great officers in conjunction with the lords; but the subsequent parliaments, during the minority, were perpetually gaining new accessions of influence, and gradually securing their own independence, and that of the people.

The spirit of freedom and equality of rank, at this period, advancing rapidly in different states of Europe, was in England fomented into actual rebellion, by means of John Ball, a seditious preacher, and the rigorous levying of a tax of three groats a head, farmed out to tax gatherers in each county. The first disorders arose from a blacksmith, afterwards known by the name of Wat Tyler, in a village of Essex. The tax gatherers demanded payment for his daughter, whom he asserted to be below the age assigned by the statute. One of the fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, which the father resenting, he immediately knocked out the ruffians brains with his hammer. The bystanders flew to arms, the whole neighbourhood joined in the sedition; and, before the government had the least warning of the danger, the insurgents amounted to 10,000 men under their leaders Tyler and Straw. In a conference with the king in the streets of London, they demanded a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns, without toll or imposts, and a fixed rent on lands instead of the services due by villanage. These requests were granted, and this body immediately dispersed. During this transaction, another body of the rebels broke into the Tower, murdered several persons of distinction, and continued their ravages in the city. The king slenderly guarded, met with Tyler at the head of these rioters; and, during a conference with him, the mayor of London, in consequence of his insolent behaviour, struck him down with

with his mace, and he was instantly dispatched by others of the king's retinue. The mutineers would have taken instant vengeance, if the king, with wonderful presence of mind, had not advanced to them, and offered to be their leader. He led them into the fields, and peaceably dismissed them, with the same charters which had been granted to their companions. The king was soon at the head of 40,000 men, the other rebels were obliged to submit, the parliament revoked the charters, and the populace were effectually subdued to their former state of servitude.

The nation entertained great hopes of Richard from the spirit and intrepidity of his conduct in dispersing the rebels; but the future transactions of his life did not justify these expectations. The incursions of the Scots, reinforced with 1500 French cavalry, excited the attention of the king's uncles. An army of 60,000 men was conducted against Scotland with Richard at the head of it. While he entered that kingdom by Berwick and the east coast, plundering and burning the towns and villages, as far as Perth and Dundee, the Scotch army were carrying on similar depredations in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. But, instead of marching westward to intercept their return, Richard hastened to England to enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Gloucester, was now, as he was approaching to his twenty-first year, become extremely disagreeable to him. He was incapable of governing, but impatient of controul. Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, of an agreeable figure and dissolute manners, had acquired a great ascendancy over him. He created him marquis of Dublin, and duke of Ireland; gave him for life the sovereignty of that kingdom, and seemed to take no pleasure in royal authority, but so far as it enabled him to favour this object of his affection. This misguided regard stirred up a powerful combination of the barons against his ministers. The duke of Gloucester, who had the commons at his devotion, impelled them to carry up
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to the house of peers an impeachment against the chancellor earl of Suffolk, the wisest of those who attached themselves to the duke of Ireland, and the king's secret councils. Richard foreseeing the danger, retired with his court to Eltham. But, on the express stipulation that they would confine the impeachment to the lord chancellor, he returned to London, and Suffolk was deprived of his office. Gloucester and his associates proceeded no farther against the ministers: But they framed a commission, and actually gave the sovereign power to fourteen persons, all, except the archbishop of York, of Gloucester's faction. The king in this manner deprived of sovereign power, got a favourable answer from the judges to several queries concerning the commission and the prerogatives of parliament, signed before the archbishops of York and Dublin, three bishops, the duke of Ireland, and earl of Suffolk. This secret combination alarmed the duke of Gloucester and his party. They secretly collected their forces, and appeared in arms near Highbate with a power which Richard and his ministers were unable to resist. A few days after they appeared in the king's presence, and accused the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as enemies to the state. And, in the manner of those times, they threw down their gauntlets before the king, and fiercely offered to maintain their charge by single combat.

The duke of Ireland attempted to raise some forces for the relief of the king, but he was defeated by Gloucester, and died in Flanders some years after. The lords obliged the king to summon a parliament, which proceeded against the five counsellors in a charge consisting of thirty-nine articles. And Sir Nicholas Brembre, the only one in custody, was condemned by the peers, and executed, together with Sir Robert Tresilian, who had been discovered and taken in the interval. All the judges who had signed the extrajudicial opinion were banished to Ireland. The lord Beauchamp of Holt, and Sir James Berners, were condemned

demned for high treason. And Sir Simon Burley governor to the king, shared the same fate, although the queen continued on her knees for three hours before Gloucester imploring his pardon.

This combination, however, was of short continuance. In a twelve-month after, Richard declared in council, that, as he was of full age, he intended to exercise his right of sovereignty in his own person. He removed the adherents of Gloucester from all places of trust and power, and the duke himself for a season from the council board. For the space of eight years the tranquillity of England seems to have been little interrupted. The duke of Lancaster was a sufficient check to the ambition of his brother the duke of Gloucester. The war with France was scarcely heard of, and a truce for twenty-five years was in 1396 established betwixt the two courts. The inroads from Scotland were inconsiderable, and some insurrections in Ireland required the presence of the king. But his personal character brought him into contempt, even while his public government was unexceptionable. His indolence and his attachment to low pleasures, together with the French truce, rendered him extremely odious to the people. Gloucester perceived the advantage, and used every method to court popularity. But all the designs of the malecontents were defeated by his imprisonment in Calais, and the seizure of the earls of Arundel and Warwick their other leaders. The dukes of Lancaster and York confirmed these transactions. A new parliament, which was summoned on this occasion, was entirely devoted to the will of the king. The commission was forever annulled; all the acts which attainted the kings ministers were abrogated. And they proceeded to impeach Fitz Alan archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick. The first of these was banished the kingdom: a warrant was issued to the governor of Calais to bring over the duke in order to his trial; but he returned for answer that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy. The earl of Arundel was condemned and executed;

cuted; and the earl of Warwick was convicted of high treason but pardoned.

After the destruction of this party, a misunderstanding broke out betwixt the duke of Hereford and the duke of Norfolk, who had been aiding in the prosecution. The former accused the latter of having spoke to him, in private, many slanderous words against the king. The charge was denied, and a challenge to single combat ensued. But, when the two champions appeared in the field, the king, to prevent the effusion of noble blood, and by the authority of parliament, forbade the duel; and, to shew his impartiality, he ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom. Norfolk was sent into perpetual banishment, and Hereford exiled for the space of ten years. Before his departure the king limited Hereford's exile to six years, and gave him letters patent empowering him to possess any inheritance which might fall to him during his absence. But, soon after, on the death of the duke of Lancaster, his father, he persuaded the parliamentary commissioners, who were delegated with the powers of parliament, to revoke the letters patent, and he retained possession of the estate of Lancaster.

Henry, the new duke of Lancaster, a prince of conduct and abilities, had long possessed the esteem of the public. This act of oppression excited their commiseration, and the general conduct of the king, their disgust. While such was the disposition of the people, Richard had the imprudence to embark for Ireland, and left the duke of York guardian of the realm. Henry seized on the favourable moment, and returned to England with a retinue of 60 persons. He was speedily joined by several powerful barons; and, as he took a solemn oath, that the sole object of his invasion was the recovery of the duchy of Lancaster, his army in a few days was increased to 60,000 men. The duke of York made some appearance of resistance, and collected an army of 4000 men; but the disposition of his troops made him publicly declare that he would assist his nephew in the recovery of his

his legal patrimony. The king arrived from Ireland with a body of 20,000 men; but the same spirit of dissatisfaction soon diminished them to 6000. And, when he could no longer keep the field, he fled to the island of Anglesea, with the intention of retiring to Ireland or France. Henry, sensible of the importance of possessing the king's person, by making great professions of loyalty, persuaded him to leave this retreat, and to conduct him with his army to London. From this period, Lancaster seems to have had views on the crown itself. By the advice of his partizans, he extorted a resignation from Richard; and, in a house of commons, elected during the fermentation, he easily procured his deposition, on a charge consisting of thirty-three articles; the suffrages of the house of peers being obtained for the same purpose. Henry laid claim to the crown, on pretence of being descended in a right line from Henry the III. and both houses sustained the claim. Richard was confined in the castle of Pomfret, under a strong guard, and was soon after murdered by Sir Piers Exton, and others of his guard; or, as is more probable, from his body being shewn, and no marks of violence discovered, died for want of sustenance. This happened in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. He left no posterity, legitimate, or illegitimate.

He appears to have been a weak prince, and unfit for government, less for want of natural parts and capacity, than of solid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper, profuse in his expences; fond of idle shows and magnificence; devoted to favourites, and addicted to pleasures.

There was a sensible decay of the authority of the ecclesiastics during this reign. In the committee of eighteen, to which Richard's last parliament delegated their whole power, there is none to be found but laymen. The aversion which was daily gaining ground to the church of Rome, found principles and reasonings in the tenets of Wickliffe, the great reformer,

former, who flourished at this period. This reign was also remarkable for the increasing influence of the house of commons operating chiefly against the enormous power of the barons.

The greatest novelty introduced into the civil government in this reign, was the creating of peers by patent. The lord Beauchamp of Holt, was the first peer who was introduced into the house of lords in this manner. The practice of levying benevolences is also mentioned in this reign.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY IV. 1399.

HENRY, without hereditary claim, and not choosing to rest his pretensions on the choice of parliament, which, if it could give, might also take away, was, in the eyes of men of sense and virtue, destitute of all title to the crown, except that of present possession. In his first parliament, he had reason to see the danger of his situation. Forty gauntlets were thrown on the floor of the house of lords, and liar and traitor resounded from all quarters. These passions soon broke out into action. The earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, and Lord Spencer, entered into a conspiracy to seize the king's person at Windsor; but the treachery of Rutland gave him warning of the danger. The conspirators were defeated and executed. Henry, in order to strengthen his government, though his father had imbibed the opinions of Wicliffe, courted the clergy, by persecuting the followers of that reformer. William Santre, rector of St Osithes in London, fell a sacrifice to this policy. This is the first instance of the kind in England; and thus one horror more was added to the dismal barbarity of the times. The revolution of England also excited an insurrection in Wales. Renegald, lord Gray of Ruthyn, closely connected with the new king, took this opportunity to recover from Glendour great possessions which he claimed in the marches. Glendour not only maintained the war, but infested the estate of

the earl of Marche, allied to the Piercies, defeated his army, and took him prisoner.

The confusion of Henry's affairs encouraged the Scots to make frequent inroads. And the king, by the assistance of his nobility alone, marched to Edinburgh; but, being unable to make Robert III. do homage for the crown, or to bring the Scots to a battle, he returned without performing any memorable transaction, and dispersed his army. In the subsequent year, Archibald earl of Douglas, at the head of 12,000 men, committed great depredations on the northern counties. On his return, he was defeated by the Piercies at Homeldon, and himself taken prisoner. The policy of the king, in wishing by means of the prisoners to make a favourable peace with Scotland, made him send orders to the earl of Northumberland not to ransom them, and gave a new cause of disgust to the family of Piercy. The impatient spirit of Harry Piercy, the earl's son, and the factious disposition of Worcester his younger brother, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman. He entered into a correspondence with Glendour, and gave liberty to lord Douglas, both of whom engaged to assist him against the king. When the war was ready to break out, the earl was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick, and young Piercy led the troops to Shrewsbury, to wait a junction with the troops of Glendour. Before that took place, Henry marched against him with an equal number of troops, about 12,000 men. On the evening before the battle, Piercy sent him a defiance, renounced his allegiance, reproached him with perjury, ingratitude, and murder. The field was well contested on both sides. Henry, and the prince of Wales, and Douglas, and Piercy, performed wonderful exploits of valour. The death of Piercy, by an unknown hand, gave the victory to the royalists; and it is said nearly two thousand gentlemen fell on both sides. Northumberland was by this time marching to his son's assistance; but the news of the battle determined him to come with a few attendants to the king; and his apology of coming with his army to mediate

mediate between the two parties was accepted. He afterwards, with the earl of Nottingham, and the archbishop of York, attempted to raise new commotions. But the scheme proving abortive, the two latter were executed, and Northumberland fled to Scotland. Soon after, Glendour died, and Henry, by his good fortune and spirited conduct, was freed from all his domestic enemies.

During the greatest part of this reign, the king was obliged to court popularity, and, of consequence, the house of commons began to be of more importance, and to assume new powers. Henry, subject to frequent fits in the last year of his life, expired at Westminster, March 20th 1413, in the 46th year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. The illegality of his title exposed him to frequent insurrections. But his prudence, vigilance, and foresight, in maintaining his power were remarkable, his command of temper admirable, and his courage, both military and political, without blemish. His reign is remarkable for the first capital punishment inflicted on an ecclesiastic of high rank, and for the first persecution of heretics.

CHAPTER XVI.

HENRY V. 1413.

THE jealousy of the late king had obliged his eldest son to assume a character of folly and extravagance, and associate with companions who were by no means suitable to his rank, or agreeable to his disposition. The first actions of his reign were to exhort his former companions to a change of life, and to commend the lord chief justice for ordering him to prison, in consequence of his riotous behaviour before his tribunal. He, moreover, expressed the deepest sorrow for the fate of the unhappy Richard, conciliated the affections of his rival to the crown, and restored the family of Piercy to its fortune and honours. The only party distinction which the popularity of Henry was not able to overcome, arose from the opinions of the Lollards, which daily gained ground in England. The head of this sect was Sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham; and the king, though contrary to his own conviction, and after endeavouring to reconcile him to the catholic faith, was obliged to give him up to the fury of the ecclesiastics. He was tried by the archbishop of Canterbury, and his three suffragans, and condemned to the flames for his erroneous opinions. He made his escape from the Tower; but, failing in an attempt to seize the king's person, by stirring up the party, he was taken four years after, when he was

F hanged

hanged as a traitor, and his body afterwards burnt, in execution of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic. Yet, while the parliaments, in the beginning of this reign, passed severe laws against heresy, they entreated the king to convert the ecclesiastical revenues to the use of the crown. They were enemies to enthusiasm, but enemies also to the abuses of the church.

The dying injunction of the late king, never to allow the English to remain long in peace, was eagerly obeyed by his son. The weakness of the French monarch, Charles VI. and the contention betwixt his brothers, the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, were favourable to an invasion of that country. Henry demanded Catharine, the French king's daughter, in marriage, with two millions of crowns as her dowry, nearly as much as the arrears of king John's ransom, together with the full sovereignty of Normandy, and all the other provinces which had been ravished from England. These demands not being complied with, Henry, after suppressing a conspiracy at home, and relying on the assistance of the duke of Burgundy, put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. On the 14th August 1415, he began the siege of Harfleur, and, after a breach of terms on the part of the besieged, he took the place by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The English army was greatly reduced by the fatigues of this siege, and by the unusual heat of the season. Henry had been unable to keep the transports on an open coast, and the only resource left, was to march by land to Calais, exposed to a French army of 14,000 men at arms, and 40,000 foot, which the constable D'Albert had assembled in Normandy. The English army with much difficulty passed the Somme, and advancing northward, the whole French army, four times more numerous than the English, were observed from the heights to be drawn up in the plains of Azincour, and so posted as to render a battle unavoidable. Henry drew up his men on a narrow ground between two
woods,

woods, and then waited the attack of the enemy. The impetuous valour of the French nobility hurried them forward in crowded ranks. The English archers had fixed pallisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and plied them from behind that defence with a shower of arrows, which nothing could resist. The wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks. The narrow compass in which they were pent, prevented them from recovering from the disorder into which they were thrown. The whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay; and Henry advancing with his archers, and the men at arms, rendered the victory complete. No battle was ever more fatal to France, from the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners; yet Henry made no use of the victory. He marched immediately to Calais, from thence he carried his prisoners to England, and it was not till two years after that, any body of English troops appeared in France.

But, during this interruption of hostilities from England, France was still exposed to civil war. The queen Isabella had joined the duke of Burgundy; and the dauphin, a youth of sixteen, was wholly governed by the count D'Armagnac. In this distracted situation, Henry again invaded France, subdued all the lower Normandy, laid siege to Rouen, and evidently extended his views to the crown itself. Negotiations were meanwhile carried on, and a treaty nearly concluded, granting to Henry the princess Catharine, the provinces ceded to Edward III. with the entire sovereignty of Normandy; but a private agreement betwixt the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, to share the royal authority during Charles's life-time, seemed to deprive the king of England of all hopes of farther success. But the duke of Burgundy being assassinated by the retinue of the dauphin at their first interview, the flame was again kindled, and the treaty of Troye rivetted the power of Henry. By this famous treaty, he was to marry Catharine, to be entrusted with the administration of the government during the king's life, and to succeed to the crown at his death. The

marriage was immediately solemnized; Henry put himself in possession of Paris; obtained from the parliament and the three estates a ratification of the treaty of Troye, and reduced the affairs of the dauphin to the most desperate state. To crown all his other prosperities, his queen was delivered of a son, who was regarded, both at Paris and London, as the future heir of both monarchies.

In the midst of his glory, Henry was seized with a fistula, which the surgeons at that time had not skill enough to cure. He expired the thirty-first of August 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his reign. This prince possessed many eminent virtues. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and the field. The boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable, than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XVII.

HENRY VI. 1422.

HENRY was scarcely a year old, when he succeeded to the throne of England. The parliament appointed the duke of Bedford protector of the kingdom; during his absence, his brother the duke of Gloucester; and to limit the power of both these princes, they named a council, whose approbation was necessary to every measure of importance. To ensure success in France, the duke of Bedford carefully cultivated the friendship and alliance of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, whose dominions lay on each side of the provinces already subdued; and he succeeded with both. He next gave his attention to Scotland; and, by forming an alliance with James, who had been long a prisoner in England, and by restoring him to his subjects, the Scots were kept in a state of neutrality during his reign. The regent having managed these political arrangements with great ability, undertook the management of the war against France. Charles VI. had died two months after Henry; and his son, possessed of amiable qualities, and a fair title to the crown, was become a powerful obstacle to the pretensions of the English. His chief strength lay in the southern provinces; but his partizans were possessed of some fortresses in the northern, and even in the neighbourhood of Paris. Against them Bedford directed his first operation. The castles of Dorsoy and

Noyelle, the town of Rue in Picardy, Pont sur Seine, Vertus, and Montaigu, were subjected by the English arms. The same year, the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk raised the siege of Crevant in Burgundy, and gained a complete victory over the Scots and French, carrying on that siege under John Stewart, constable of Scotland, and the lord D'Estissac.

1424.—Yvri in Normandy was reduced to the last extremity, by the regent in person, and at length surrendered, though the earl of Buchan, constable of France, was marching with 14,000 men to its relief. The constable immediately turned to the left, and sat down before Verneuil, which the inhabitants, in spite of the garrison, delivered up to him. Not contented with the glory of this acquisition, he waited for the duke of Bedford, who, with equal numbers, engaged him on the 27th of August. The battle was uncommonly bloody, and ended in the total defeat of the French army. The constable himself perished, and the bravest of Charles's nobles were killed, or made prisoners. Verneuil was surrendered next day on capitulation. The condition of the king of France seemed to be desperate; but several concurring circumstances, subsequent to the battle of Verneuil, preserved him from total ruin. The duke of Burgundy conceived a high disgust at the English, in consequence of Gloucester's marrying Jaqueline, countess of Hainault and Holland, who had been espoused to John, duke of Brabant, his cousin-german, and who had made her escape from him into England. There had likewise broke out some differences among the English ministry, which required the regent's presence to compose. About the same time, the duke of Brittany withdrew himself from the English alliance, and did homage to the king of France; and above all, the raising of the siege of Montargis, by the natural son of the late duke of Burgundy, afterwards count de Dunois, served to recover the French from their astomment, and greatly to raise their courage.

1426.—The duke of Bedford found affairs in this situation when he returned from England. He fell unexpectedly

pectedly on Brittany, and brought the duke to his own terms. As he intended, by a great effort, to penetrate into the south of France, he began with the siege of Orleans, a place of the greatest importance, in the present circumstances, being situated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and those possessed by Charles. The duke of Suffolk carried on the operation, and seems chiefly to have proceeded in the siege by famine. Orleans was gradually reduced to great extremities; and, as the last expedient, Charles offered, by the duke of Burgundy, to allow the city and the territory annexed to preserve a neutrality during the war, and to be sequestered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. The regent replied, that he was not of a humour to beat the bushes, while others ran away with the game; with which answer, the duke was so disgusted, that he recalled his troops from the siege. Meanwhile, the place was more closely invested by the English; great scarcity began to prevail among the besieged; and Charles had no hopes of collecting an army, which should dare to approach the enemies' entrenchments. In this situation, relief was brought him by a female, who gave rise to one of the most singular revolutions to be met with in history,

1429.—Joan d'Arc, known afterwards by the name of the Maid of Orleans, a country girl, servant in a small inn, pretended to see visions, and hear voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. She found means to be introduced to Charles, and offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed. An uncommon intrepidity of temper, and the sanction of divine authority, under which she appeared, made her a fit instrument for inspiring the minds of men with confidence and courage. She appeared in the army, mounted on horseback, in a martial habiliment, and displaying in her hands a consecrated banner, where the Supreme Being was represented grasping the globe of the earth. The first at-

tempt, under this inspired leader, was to conduct a convoy into Orleans, with the assistance of 10,000 men, assembled at Blois for that purpose. As the convoy approached the river, a sally was made by the garrison on the side of Beaufle to distract the English. The provisions were peaceably embarked in boats, and the French troops carried back in safety to Blois. The maid entered the city in her military garb; and the next convoy, at her desire, was conducted through the strongest part of the English camp; a dead silence and astonishment reigned among those troops, which were formerly so elate with victory, and so fierce for the combat. She now called aloud, that the garrison should stand no longer on the defensive. The generals seconded her ardour, several successful sallies were made, in which the maid of Orleans was extremely active; and in four days, the English were obliged to raise the siege. Suffolk retired with a detachment of his troops into Jergean, where he was immediately besieged by 6000 French. Joan displayed her wonted intrepidity; and in ten days the place was taken by storm, and Suffolk made prisoner. The remainder of the English army, under Fastolfe, Scales, and Talbot, in making their retreat, were attacked and defeated with the loss of two thousand men at the village of Patay. The coronation of Charles at Rheims was another part of the maid's promise; and she vehemently insisted that he should set out on that enterprise. It was plainly his interest to keep up the belief of something divine in those events; and therefore, he began his march at the head of 12,000 men, and without almost perceiving that he was in an enemies country, he arrived at Rheims, which immediately opened its gates to him. He was crowned and anointed with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought to king Clovis from heaven, the maid of Orleans standing by his side in complete armour, and displaying her sacred banner, while the people shouted for joy.

Nothing can impress us with a more favourable opinion of the wisdom and courage of the duke of Bedford,

ford, than his maintaining any footing in France after these events. He held all the English garrisons in a posture of defence; retained the Parisians in obedience; renewed his alliance with the duke of Burgundy; brought over the young king to Paris; and revived the courage of his troops, by boldly advancing against the enemy, while he chose his posts so cautiously, as to avoid an engagement.

1430. The maid of Orleans, still persuaded to continue her military enterprises, was made prisoner in a sally, which she conducted from the town of Compeigne; and though she ought to have been considered as a prisoner of war, yet was she tried for heresy and witchcraft, condemned to the flames and the sentence executed some time after.

The duke of Burgundy, disgusted with the marriage of Bedford, soon after the death of his sister, entered into a formal treaty with the king of France at Arras, and adjusted all their differences. A few days after the duke of Bedford received intelligence of this treaty, he died at Rouen; a prince of great abilities, and, excepting the execution of the maid of Orleans, of unsullied reputation.

The violent factions which prevailed in the court of England, between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, prevented the English from repairing their losses. Paris was lost, before the duke of York, successor to Bedford, could be appointed, or arrive in France. The war was now carried on in a languid manner, but, on the whole, advantageous for the French interest. The surprising of places, the rencounter of detached parties, and incursions on the open country, were the only affairs of importance under the government of York, who was, notwithstanding, a prince of great ability, and struggled with the difficulties of his situation for five years.

The sentiments of the cardinal prevailed in the council over those of the duke of Gloucester, both with regard to a truce with the king of France, which was concluded for twenty-two months, and also, in the marriage of the king with Margaret of Anjou,

the most accomplished princess of her age, in body and mind, and possessed of those qualities, which were fitted to gain her an ascendancy over the harmless disposition, and inoffensive manners of the king. The earl of Suffolk, who was employed in those affairs, ventured, without authority from the council, to engage that the province of Maine should be delivered up to Charles of Anjou, Margaret's uncle. The treaty of marriage was confirmed in England; and the duke of Gloucester fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of the cardinal. A parliament was summoned to meet at St Edmondsbury. The duke was accused of high treason, thrown into prison, and soon after found dead in his bed.

1448.—The truce between England and France, which had been renewed, and which subsisted till this period, was broken by Charles; and Normandy, at once invaded by four powerful armies; one commanded by the king; the second by the duke of Brittany; the third by the duke of Alencon; and the fourth by the count de Dunois. The division of the English court, and consequently, the state of the army and the fortifications under the duke of Somerset, governor of Normandy, encouraged Charles to this invasion. Many places opened their gates, as soon as the French appeared before them. The governor, so far from having an army to relieve these places, was obliged with a few troops to retire into Rouen. The king of France appeared at the gates with 50,000 men, and the inhabitants obliged the duke to capitulate. He purchased a retreat to Harfleur, by the payment of 56,000 crowns, by engaging to surrender Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Harfleur, and other places, and by delivering hostages. Harfleur made a good defence, but at length submitted to the count du Dunois. Four thousand men sent from England were put to the rout at Fourmigni, by the count de Clermont; and the conquest of Normandy was finished in a twelvemonth, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants, and of the whole kingdom. The same rapid success attended the French
arms

arms in Guienne; and this whole province, which had remained united to England since the accession of Henry II. was, after a period of three centuries, finally swallowed up by the French monarchy.

A weak prince, seated on the throne of England, had never failed, however gentle and innocent, to be infested with faction, discontent, rebellion, and civil commotions. The incapacity of Henry appeared every day in a fuller light, and the title itself of that weak prince was disputed. Richard, duke of York, descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who was descended from the duke of Lancaster, the third son of that monarch. Richard was a man of valour and abilities, of a prudent conduct, and mild dispositions. He had displayed these virtues in his government of France; and though recalled by the intrigues of the duke of Somerset, he had been sent to suppress a rebellion in Ireland, where he had been able to attach to his person and family the whole Irish nation, whom he was sent to subdue. He possessed an immense fortune; uniting in his person the estates of Cambridge and York, on the one hand, with those of Mortimer on the other. His alliances, in marrying the daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility. For, besides the earl of Westmoreland, the lords Latimer, Fauconbridge, and Abergavenny, his brother-in-law inherited by his wife, the title and possession of the Salisbury family; and Salisbury's son, in the same manner, became earl of Warwick, one of the most powerful noblemen in England.

Though the people were never willing to grant the supplies for retaining the possessions in France, yet they repined greatly at the loss of these boasted acquisitions. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle made them suspect treachery; and they considered Margaret as a latent enemy of the kingdom. The assassination of the virtuous duke of Gloucester, whose character would have kept the parti-

zans of York in awe, but whose memory served to throw an infinite odium on all his murderers, was a fatal blow to the popularity of the crown. The duke of Suffolk, supposed to have an active hand in the king's marriage, and in the murder of Gloucester, was accused by the commons, first of treason, and afterwards of misdemeanors. The king sent for all the lords to his apartment, produced the prisoner, told them that he was not satisfied with the first bill of treason, but, in consideration of the second, he banished Suffolk for five years. A captain of a vessel, employed by his enemies, struck off his head on the side of a long boat, and his body was thrown into the sea.

The duke of Somerset, equally obnoxious to the people, as he was governor of Normandy when that province was lost, succeeded to Suffolk's power in the ministry, and to his credit with the queen. The discontents of the people broke out into several commotions, which were soon suppressed; but one in Kent was likely to be attended with more dangerous consequences. A man of low condition, one John Cade, assumed the name of John Mortimer, intending, as is supposed, to pass himself for a son of that Sir John Mortimer, who had been executed at the beginning of this reign, easily collected 20,000 of the common people of Kent, defeated a small force sent against him, and advancing with his followers to London, encamped on Blackheath. He sent to court a plausible list of grievances; and promised, when these were redressed, and lord Say, the treasurer, and Cromer, high sheriff of Kent, were punished, to lay down his arms. He was admitted into London, where he published several edicts against plunder; but being obliged to execute lord Say and Cromer, and no longer able to restrain the riotous disposition of his followers, the citizens of London, with the assistance of a few soldiers, repelled the Kentish men with great slaughter; and Cade himself was slain by one Iden, a gentleman of Suffex. The duke of York, who was still in Ireland, was blamed for instigating Cade, as an experiment to try the affections of the people to his family

family and title ; and the different claims of Lancaster and York became the subject of general conversation, and seemed to promise nothing but fierce contention from the powerful barons on each side.

The disposition of the parliament, which was summoned after the duke of York arrived from Ireland, to attack the king's ministers, discovered a general prejudice against the measures of the court.

1452.—The duke, trusting to these symptoms, raised an army of 10,000 men, and marching towards London, demanded a reformation of government, and the removal of Somerset. Contrary to expectation, the gates of London were shut against him ; and, on his retreating to Kent, he was followed by the king at the head of a superior army. A parley ensued. Richard still insisted on the removal of Somerset ; and that nobleman was put under arrest. But, when York was persuaded to pay his respects to the king, he was surprised to see Somerset step from behind the curtain of the tent, and offer to justify his innocence. Richard perceiving he was betrayed, was obliged to lower his pretensions ; but, as the disposition of the nation would not bear the destruction of so popular a prince, he was allowed to retire to his seat at Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

1453.—While the duke of York lived in this retreat, an unsuccessful attempt to recover part of the French dominions, and even the birth of a son to Henry, who was baptized under the name of Edward, had a tendency to inflame the quarrel between the parties. Henry, always unfit to govern, fell at this time into a distemper, which rendered him incapable of maintaining the appearance of royalty. The queen and council were obliged to yield to the torrent. Somerset was sent to the tower ; and Richard appointed lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament. That assembly created him protector during pleasure ; but the cautious and deliberate manner in which Richard accepted this office, although amiable in itself, was attended with bad consequences in the present state of affairs.

affairs. His enemies soon found it in their power to take advantage of this excessive caution. Henry having in some degree recovered, they moved him to resume his authority, and to commit the administration into the hands of Somerset. Richard levied an army; and the battle of St Alban's, in which the Yorkists gained a complete victory, was the first blood spilt in that unhappy quarrel. The loss in the king's army was reckoned about 5000, among whom were the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and many other persons of distinction.

A parliament, assembled soon after, restored the protectorship to the duke, who still persevered in his former scruples; but, at the same time, they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry, and fixed the continuance of the protectorship to the majority of his son Edward.

1456.—It was not found difficult to wrest power from hands so little tenacious as the duke of York. Henry was again instigated to resume the authority. The duke of York retired to Wigmore, Salisbury to Middleham in Yorkshire, and Warwick to his government of Calais. Men of peaceable disposition thought it not too late to attempt a perfect reconciliation. It was agreed that all the great leaders on both sides should meet in London. Terms were adjusted, which took not away the grounds of difference; and great appearance of cordiality was manifested in a grand procession, wherein the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a chieftain of one party marched hand in hand with a chieftain of the other. Soon after, one of the king's retinue insulted one of the earl of Warwick's; their companions took part in the quarrel; the earl apprehending personal danger, fled to Calais; and both parties, in every county in England, openly prepared to decide the contest by arms. The earl of Salisbury, marching to join the duke of York, was overtaken at Bloreheath by Lord Audley, who commanded superior forces, and a small rivulet, with steep banks, ran between the two armies. Salisbury feigned to retreat; and having, by this stratagem,

stratagem, gained a complete victory over the royalists, reached the general rendezvous at Ludlow. But a defection of a body of veterans, which Warwick had brought from Calais, made the Yorkists separate without striking a stroke.

1460.—In the subsequent year, Warwick landed in Kent, with the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Marche, eldest son to the duke of York. His army increasing every day, he marched to London amidst the acclamations of the people and the citizens. He soon found himself in a condition to face the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him. The battle was fought at Northampton, and by the infidelity of lord Grey of Ruthin, Warwick gained an easy and complete victory. The slaughter fell chiefly on the gentry and nobility; and Henry, that empty shadow of a king, was taken prisoner.

A parliament was summoned, which declared the title of the duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but, in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown for thirty-eight years, they determined that he should possess the title and dignity during his life, and that meanwhile Richard should have the administration of government, and the unalienable succession.

After the defeat of Northampton, the queen had fled with her infant son to Scotland; but immediately returning, by her affability, insinuation, and address, she gained the compassion of the northern barons, and was soon at the head of 20,000 men. The duke of York hastened to the north with 5000, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginning of an insurrection. When he found himself so much outnumbered, he threw himself into Sandal castle, and was advised to remain there, till his son should arrive with the troops he was collecting for his assistance. But thinking he would be for ever disgraced, if he resigned the victory for a moment to a woman, he descended into the plain, was surrounded and taken prisoner by the queen's troops, himself slain in the battle, and his son, the earl of Rutland, a youth of seventeen, murdered
after

after in cold blood by lord Clifford, in revenge of his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St Alban's. Near 3000 of the Yorkists fell in this battle. The duke himself, who merited a better fate, perished in the fiftieth year of his age, and left behind him three sons, and three daughters.

1461.—The queen, after this important victory, divided her army, and sent the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, against Edward, now duke of York. With the larger, she marched towards London, where Warwick was left to command the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward, at Mortimer's cross in Herefordshire, with the loss of 4000 men. Warwick marched from London, and gave battle to the queen at St Alban's, where the queen was superior; 2300 of the Yorkists perished in the battle and flight; and the king himself fell again in the hands of his own party. On the approach of Edward, however, the queen was obliged to march to the north; while Edward, amidst the acclamations of the citizens, entered London. He determined to assume the name and dignity of king; and, to give the appearance of national consent, he assembled his army in St John's field; an harangue, setting forth the title of Edward, was pronounced to an infinite multitude who attended on this occasion. The question was then put, whether they would accept of Edward for their king, in place of Henry of Lancaster. They expressed their consent with loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, and magistrates, assembled at Baynard's castle, ratified the popular election; and the new king was next day proclaimed in London, under the name of Edward IV.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EDWARD IV. 1461.

YOUNG Edward, now in his twentieth year, was fitted to make his way to the full possession of the crown, which he claimed from hereditary right, but which he had assumed from the election of his party. He was bold, active, and enterprizing; and his hardness of heart, and severity of character, promised no relaxation of the bloody scenes which had been hitherto acted by both parties in this civil war. During this reign, the scaffold, as well as the field, streamed incessantly with the noblest blood of England. The people, divided in their affections, took opposite symbols of party; the Lancastrians chose the red rose, and the Yorkists the white, as marks of distinction.

The queen found herself obliged to retire northwards among her partizans, and in a few days she assembled in Yorkshire an army sixty thousand strong. The king and the earl of Warwick hastened with forty thousand men to check her progress; and, after sustaining some loss in a body of troops sent to secure the passage of Ferrybridge, over the Aire, engaged her army at Tooton, and gained a complete victory. In this action, the Lancastrians lost a great many of the nobility, and 36,000 men. Henry and Margaret retired immediately into Scotland, to solicit the assistance of James III.

Edward, on his return to London, summoned a parliament for settling the government. His vigorous

rous measures in assuming the crown, and the victory of Tooton, made them recognize his title, and pass an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and Margaret, and their infant son prince Edward. But the new establishment seemed precarious, both from the discontents of the people, and the efforts of foreign powers. Lewis XI. of France had sent over a small body to Henry's assistance; and, on the personal application of the indefatigable Margaret, who promised to deliver up Calais, he was persuaded to send along with her 2000 men at arms. With these, and a numerous train of adventurers from Scotland, she attempted to make an inroad into England; but her forces were completely defeated at Hexham by Lord Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick. The queen made her escape into Flanders; and Henry, after being concealed in Lancashire for a twelve month, was detected and thrown into the Tower. About this time, Edward became enamoured of lady Elizabeth Grey, widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, who had been killed in the second battle of St Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster; and as she refused to gratify his passion on easier terms, he married her privately at Grafton, and the secret was carefully kept for some time. A little before, he had cast his eye on Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France; and the earl of Warwick was in Paris, and had fully concluded this treaty, when the secret of Edward's marriage was divulged. This haughty baron returned to England full of rage and indignation, and the influence of the queen in drawing every favour to her own friends and kindred, excited a powerful combination of the nobility with Warwick, and George duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, at their head, against Edward and his ministry. While this cloud was gathering at home, the king endeavoured to secure himself against his factious nobility by foreign alliances. He gave his sister in marriage to Charles duke of Burgundy, and at the same time concluded a league with the duke of Brittany. But, whatever ambitious schemes the king might have built on these alliances,

alliances, they were frustrated by intestine commotions which engrossed his whole attention. The hospital of St Leonard's, near York, had received from king Athelstane a right of levying a thrave of corn from every ploughland in the county for the relief of the poor. The country people complained of the mismanagement of this contribution, refused payment, and at length rose in arms. After putting to death the officers of the hospital, they proceeded to York in a body fifteen thousand strong. The Lord Montague opposed their progress, and in a skirmish seized Robert Hulderne their leader, and put him to death. The rebels, headed by Sir Henry Nevil, advanced southwards, and in the battle of Banbury defeated the earl of Pembroke, who was sent by Edward against them.

Soon after, there broke out another rebellion, for which no sufficient reason is assigned. It arose in Lincolnshire, and was headed by Sir Robert Wells, whose army amounted to 30,000 men. No part of the English history is so uncertain as the wars between the two roses. It appears, that neither Warwick nor Clarence, whatever reason of disgust they might have, were concerned in either of these rebellions. Commissions were even granted them, on this occasion, to levy forces against the rebels. But these noblemen, as soon as they left the court, raised troops in their own name; and, on the defeat of the rebels under Sir Robert Welles, by the king in person, they were obliged to dissolve their army, and fly from the kingdom. The deputy governor of Calais, for prudential reasons, having refused them admittance, Warwick repaired to the court of France, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of regard, although the inveterate enemy of the Lancastrian party. Lewis, in his present distresses, made him hearken to terms of accommodation. But Edward, by means of a lady belonging to the train of the dutchess of Clarence, prevailed on the duke to take the first opportunity of departing from this unnatural connection. During this negotiation, Warwick was carrying on a secret correspondence

response with his brother Montague, who was entirely trusted by Edward. And the marquis, to render the blow more fatal, delayed his treachery till a favourable opportunity. Edward meanwhile neglected the warning of the duke of Burgundy, and the defence of his kingdom, and even declared his wish that Warwick should land in England. A vain confidence in his own prowess, joined to the immoderate love of pleasure, had made him incapable of all sound reason and reflection.

The scene which ensues, seems more like the fiction of a romance, than an event in history. Warwick and Clarence landed, and in a few days had an army of 60,000 men. Edward hastened southwards to encounter them; and, while the two armies were every moment in expectation of a decisive action, Montague had the first opportunity of executing *his* plan of treachery. He communicated his design to his adherents, who took arms in the night, and hastened with loud acclamations to Edward's quarters. The king, informed of his danger, had just time to make his escape. He hurried with a small retinue to Lynne, embarked on board a ship, and with extreme difficulty, landed at Alcmaer a port in Holland. Immediately after Edward's flight, Warwick hastened to London, and taking Henry from the Tower, proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A parliament was summoned in his name at Westminster, by which Henry was recognised as king, his incapacity avowed, and Clarence and Warwick entrusted with the regency till the majority of his son. The usual business of reversals also went on without opposition. But the ruling party were so uncommonly sparing in their executions, that the only victim of distinction was the earl of Worcester.

Edward, impatient to take revenge of his enemies, and recover his authority, was supplied in a secret manner by his brother in law the duke of Burgundy, with a few ships, and 2000 men. Repulsed on the coast of Norfolk, he afterwards disembarked at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. His partizans every where
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flocked to his standard; and he was soon in a situation which gave him hopes of success. Warwick assembled an army with the intention of giving him battle; but Edward passed him by another road, and by the activity of his friends, and the influence of several rich merchants to whom he was indebted for money, he got possession of London, and Henry again became his prisoner. The king now found himself in a condition to face Warwick, who, with the duke of Clarence, took post at Barnet, in the neighbourhood of London. Clarence, though bound to his father in law by every tie of honour and gratitude, deserted to his brother with 12,000 men. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat, and his army was defeated with great slaughter in the battle of Barnet. He himself was slain in the thickest of the engagement.

1471.—Queen Margaret and her son, now eighteen years of age, arrived at Weymouth on the very day on which this decisive battle was fought. She took sanctuary at first in the abbey of Beaulieu; but encouraged by the appearance of several noblemen, she advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, her army increasing on every day's march. She was overtaken by the expeditious Edward, and her army routed, with the loss of 3000 men at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severne. The queen and her son fell into the hands of the conqueror. They were brought to the king, who asked the prince how he dared to invade his dominions? Young Edward, more mindful of his birth than his situation, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The king struck him on the face with his gauntlet, and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Grey, hurried him into the next apartment, and dispatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower, and king Henry expired in confinement a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury. Peace being now fully restored, a parliament ratified all the acts of Edward, and he returned to his former indolence and frivolous amusements.

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Although the king deemed himself little indebted to the duke of Burgundy for his reception during his exile, yet the interests of their states made these two princes agree to unite their arms against France. The parliament voted the king a tenth of rents, or two shillings in the pound; and he passed over to Calais with 1500 men at arms, and 15,000 archers, attended by all the chief nobility of England. But the duke of Burgundy failing to bring any assistance, he hearkened to the advances which Lewis continually made him; and a peace was concluded at Pecquigni, more advantageous than honourable to Lewis. The most disinterested part of the treaty, on the part of the French king, was a ransom of 50,000 crowns for queen Margaret, who passed the rest of her days in privacy and tranquillity till the year 1482, when she died.

The duke of Clarence, notwithstanding his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to recover the king's friendship. And in consequence of some pretended liberties of speech, wherein he was charged with reflecting on the king's legitimacy, a parliament was summoned, and he was found guilty by the house of peers. The only favour the king granted his brother was the choice of his death; and he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmsey in the Tower.

All the glories of Edward terminated with the civil wars. His spirits seem afterwards to have been sunk in indolence and pleasure; and a projected match between his eldest daughter and the dauphin, being frustrated by the treachery of Lewis, he prepared to revenge the insult. But, while he was making this preparation, he was seized with a distemper of which he expired, in the forty-second year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign. A prince more splendid and showy, than either prudent or virtuous. Brave, though cruel. Addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity.

CHAPTER IX.

EDWARD V. AND RICHARD III. 1483.

DURING the latter years of king Edward IV. the government was agitated by the intrigues of the queen, the earl of Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorset her son, on the one hand, and all the ancient nobility, headed by the duke of Buckingham, on the other. Edward, apprehensive of many disorders during the minority of his son, summoned the leaders of both parties, recommended peace and unanimity, engaged them to embrace each other as the token of reconciliation, and expressed his intention, that his brother the duke of Gloucester, then in the north, should be entrusted with the regency. He had, however, no sooner expired, than each of the parties applied to the duke, and endeavoured to gain his friendship. This prince, who had footed both parties during his brother's life time, determined, while he acted with the most profound dissimulation, no longer to preserve that neutrality; and his exorbitant ambition led him, at the expence of every good principle, to raise his views to the possession of the crown. The zeal and attachment which he professed for the queen's interests, made her consent to call her son, with his uncle the earl of Rivers, who had been entrusted with his education, from Ludlow castle without any armed force.

force. The duke meanwhile set out from York with a numerous train of the northern gentry. He was joined at Northampton by the duke of Buckingham, and resolved to await there the arrival of the king. The earl of Rivers, who had sent the king by another road, was received by the duke with great appearance of respect and cordiality, but was arrested next day by order of Gloucester, together with Sir Richard Grey, one of the queen's sons, conducted to Pomfret castle, and in a few days murdered, without any trial or form of process. The people rejoiced at this revolution; but the queen, perceiving the danger of her family, fled into the sanctuary of Westminster with the five princesses, and the duke of York. Gloucester anxious to have the latter in his power, by his great address, persuaded the primate and the archbishop of York, men of the greatest integrity, to employ their influence with the queen. She produced her son to the prelates; but, as if on a sudden struck with the presage of his future fate, she bedewed him with her tears, and bade him an eternal farewell.

The council, without waiting for the consent of parliament, declared the duke of Gloucester protector of the realm; and having so far succeeded in his views, he no longer hesitated in removing the other obstructions which lay between him and the crown. He easily prevailed on Buckingham, who knew no principle of action but ambition and interest, to second him in his iniquitous designs. Lord Hastings was impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, on which account he was charged with treachery in a council to which he was summoned in the Tower, and ordered by Gloucester to immediate execution. After this murder, the protector made no longer a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. His partizans were instructed to maintain, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate, and that the duke alone was the lawful issue of the duke of York. An assembly of the citizens of London were called by the mayor, where the duke of Buckingham harangued them on the protector's
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title to the crown. After using every effort, a few of the meanest of the people raised a feeble cry, *God save king Richard!* The sentiments of the nation were now sufficiently declared; and Buckingham and the mayor, with much seeming reluctance on the part of the protector, prevailed on him to accept of the crown. This ridiculous farce was soon followed by the murder of the two infant princes. They were suffocated in the tower, and their remains were never discovered till the reign of Charles II. who ordered them to be interred under a marble monument.

RICHARD III. 1483.

NEVER was there an usurpation in any country more flagrant than that of Richard's, nor more repugnant to every principle of justice and public interest. The spirit of the nation revolted against it; and, although the usurper loaded with his bounty the men who assisted him, and especially Buckingham, yet that nobleman, who was nearly allied to the Lancastrian family, soon began to hearken to the claims of that party which were now revived.

Henry, earl of Richmond, detained in a kind of honourable bondage in Brittany, was an object of jealousy, both in this and the former reign. He was son to the half brother of Henry VII. and inherited from his mother all the title of the Somerset family to the crown. The partizans of the house of Lancaster having long considered him as the only hope of their party, it was suggested to the queen and the duke of Buckingham, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation was to unite the factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter

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of king Edward. This plan, ratified by all the parties concerned, and laid on the solid foundation of good sense, was communicated to the leading men in all the counties of England, and there appeared a wonderful alacrity to forward its success. It was impossible that so extensive a conspiracy should escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. He was soon informed that the duke of Buckingham was forming some design against his authority; and levying some troops in the north, he summoned the duke to appear at court, in terms which promised a renewal of their friendship. But that nobleman, acquainted with the treachery of Richard, replied by taking arms in Wales. The inclemency of the season preventing him from joining his associates in the heart of England, his army dwindled to nothing; and he himself was taken prisoner, brought to the king, and instantly executed. The king, strengthened by this unsuccessful attempt to dethrone him, ventured to summon a parliament, which had no choice but to recognize his authority, and submit to all his demands. Sensible, at the same time, that the confidence of the Yorkists was necessary to his security, he paid court to the queen dowager with such art and address, that she left her sanctuary, and put herself and daughters under the protection of the tyrant. And, as he knew the earl of Richmond was only dangerous from the projected marriage, he intended, by means of a papal dispensation, to marry the princess Elizabeth his niece. The queen, eager to regain her authority, did not scruple the alliance; but the crimes of Richard were so horrid, that no political or public views could render his government stable. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to hasten his invasion. The earl, sensible of the urgent necessity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, minister to the duke of Brittany, made his escape to the court of France. Charles VIII. gave him his countenance and protection; and by his assistance he was soon enabled to set out from Harfleur, in Normandy, with a retinue of about 2000 persons. After a navigation of six days,
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he arrived at Milford-haven in Wales without opposition.

1485.—Richard had taken post at Nottingham, and having given commissions to several persons to oppose the enemy, he proposed to fly on the first alarm to the place which was exposed to danger. Sir Rice ap Thomas, entrusted with authority in Wales, deserted to Henry; Sir Walter Herbert made but feeble opposition to him; and the earl advancing to Shrewsbury, received every day some reinforcement from his partizans. Richard's chief danger was from the infidelity of his pretended friends. When he empowered lord Stanley to levy forces, he still retained lord Strange his eldest son as a pledge of his fidelity; and that nobleman was obliged to use great precaution in his proceedings. The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth, near Leicester; Henry, at the head of 6000 men, and Richard with an army of double the number. Stanley, with 7000 men, posted himself near the expected field of battle in such a manner as enabled him to join either party. The king, that he might prolong the ambiguous conduct of the father, spared the life of his son, and hastened to decide the quarrel by arms. Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure inspired Henry's soldiers with courage, and threw Richard's into confusion and dismay. The intrepid tyrant perceiving his rival at no great distance, drove against him with fury, killed his standard bearer with his own hand, dismounted Sir John Cheyney, and was fighting with the earl himself, when Stanley's troops breaking in, he perished by a fate too mild for his crimes. Richard possessed not one virtue to redeem his character from eternal infamy.

CHAPTER XX.

HENRY VII. 1485.

THE victory which the earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive; and the foldiers on the field of battle saluted their general with the appellation of king, which he had not hitherto assumed. All the titles on which Henry could found his right to the crown were liable to great objections, considered either with regard to policy or justice; but he knew that present possession would operate with the hatred to Richard to secure his government; and he accepted without hesitation the regal authority. These views of Henry are not exposed to much blame; but there entered into all his measures and councils another motive, which admits of no apology. This was a studied attention to exalt the Lancastrian party, and to depress the retainers of the house of York. Two days after the battle of Bosworth, Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, and son to the unfortunate Clarence, was confined to the Tower in close custody. Directions were given, at the same time, that the princess Elizabeth should be conducted to London to meet Henry, and there celebrate her espousals.

Henry himself, in a few days after, was received in London with every possible mark of respect and joy. Although stately and reserved in his manners, he did
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not neglect the favour of the people, but gave every assurance of his intention to celebrate his marriage with Elizabeth. But, though bound by honour and interest to complete this alliance, he resolved to postpone it till after his coronation, and the recognizance of his own title. The ceremony of his coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchie archbishop of Canterbury.

A parliament being assembled at Westminster, a great majority immediately appeared to be the partizans of Henry. In this parliament the entail of the crown was voted in general terms, namely, that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king, and that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body. After all these precautions, the king was so little satisfied with his title, that he applied to Rome for a confirmation of it, and received a bull from Innocent VIII. in whatever terms he was pleased to desire. This parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, viscount Lovel, and many other noblemen and gentlemen who had fought on Richard's side in the battle of Bosworth.

1486.—In presenting the bill of tonnage and poundage the duty of which they conferred on him for life, the parliament petitioned Henry to espouse the princess Elizabeth; and he now thought in earnest of satisfying the minds of his people. His marriage was celebrated in London with greater appearance of joy than his entry or coronation. Every thing having hitherto succeeded to his wish, he resolved to make a progress into the north, to remove by his presence any prejudice which might arise among the friends of Richard, or the partizans of the house of York. When he arrived at York, he was informed that Lovel, at the head of 4000 men, was marching to attack him. By his activity in levying a small body of troops, and dispatching them under Bedford, the forces of the rebels were dispersed, and the spirit of the party subdued.

Henry's joy for this success was followed by the birth of a son, to whom he gave the name of Arthur. But his government was every day becoming more unpopular. The king's prejudice against the house of York, the severity exercised against the earl of Warwick, and the harsh treatment which the queen herself met with, were the causes of the public discontent. Richard Simon, a priest, determined to disturb the government of Henry, cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen, son to a baker in Oxford, and intrusted him to personate the young earl of Warwick, who was reported to have made his escape from the Tower. Simon perceiving that the imposture would not bear a close inspection, determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland. Simnel presented himself to Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, as the unfortunate Warwick. In a short time the city of Dublin, and afterwards the whole nation, declared for this pretended prince. He was lodged in the castle of Dublin, crowned, and publicly proclaimed under the appellation of Edward VI. When this intelligence was conveyed to Henry, he suspected the queen dowager, and confined her in the nunnery of Bermundsey. He next ordered that Warwick should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, and exposed to the eyes of the whole people: And in all respects he acted with vigour and wisdom for the defence of the kingdom. Simnel having received an addition of 2000 veteran Germans, raised by the duchess of Burgundy, and accompanied by Lovel and Lincoln, determined to invade England. They landed at Foudrey in Lancashire; but meeting with no encouragement even in the disaffected counties, the earl of Lincoln was obliged to bring the matter to a speedy decision. Henry declined not the combat; and in a bloody battle fought at Stoke, the rebels were totally defeated. Simnel was taken prisoner, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen. Henry, in consequence of this victory, gave many proofs of the vigour of his justice, but he made his revenge subservient to his avarice. The delay of the
queen's

queen's coronation had been the chief source of the disaffection which prevailed; and the king, now instructed by experience, finished that ceremony.

1488.—The barons of Brittany, in consequence of some disgust at the management of affairs in that duchy, invited the French king to invade their country. The French, eager to annex this fief to the empire, readily engaged in the enterprise; and the barons finding their country menaced with total subjection, again made peace with their sovereign. Henry, either deceived by the French ambassadors, or believing that the Bretons were in no danger of immediate subjection, refused their first application for assistance; and in the following year, when he sent over 6000 men, the caution of the French, and the distracted state of the councils in Brittany, made them return without effecting any essential service. The great object of dissension among the Bretons was the disposal of the young duchess in marriage; and, by the wisdom and address of the French ministry, and the activity of the army under Charles, every obstacle was surmounted, the king espoused the duchess, and Brittany was annexed to France.

1491.—The king of England had reason to reproach himself with misconduct in this important transaction, and he determined to carry war into France. He used this war as a pretext for a *benevolence* on his people; and at the same time he summoned a parliament for further supplies. The vaunting of the king, that he would carry his arms to the gates of Paris, and the military ardour of the nation, procured him a grant of two fifteenths; and an act was passed, empowering the nobility to sell their estates, without paying any fines for alienation. The king crossed the seas, and arrived at Calais on the 6th of October, with an army of 25,000 foot, and 1600 horse. But pretending his allies had deserted him, and judging it impossible to remain at Calais during the winter, he concluded a peace with Charles for 186,000 Sterling, and a yearly pension of 25,000 crowns. Thus the king, as remarked

marked by his historian, made profit on his subjects for the war, and on his enemies for the peace.

The duchess of Burgundy, irritated by the ill success of her past enterprises, propagated a report, that her nephew Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had escaped from the Tower; and she instructed Perkin Warbeck, a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, and who greatly resembled Richard, to personate that prince. He landed at Corke, and drew to him many partizans among the ignorant people. The news having reached France, he was invited to Paris by the king, who assigned him lodgings, and allowed him a handsome pension. When peace was concluded between France and England, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands, but Charles would only consent to dismiss him. The pretended Plantagenet retired to the duchess of Burgundy, who affected entire ignorance of his pretensions; but, after a long scrutiny, acknowledged him for her nephew, and received him with joy. From this high authority, not only the populace in England, but many of rank, began to turn their eyes towards the claimant, and even to enter into correspondence with him. Henry, agreeable to his character, proceeded very deliberately, but steadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. By dispersing spies over Flanders and England, the whole plan of the conspiracy was laid clearly before him, as well as the pedigree and adventures of the pretended duke of York. Almost in the same instant, Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaites, and many others of the conspirators, were arrested, and the greatest part of them condemned and executed. But what made the greatest impression on the whole kingdom, and struck all Perkin's retainers with the deepest dismay, was the execution of Stanley the lord chamberlain.

1495.—As Perkin found that the king's authority gained ground daily among the people, he resolved to do something which might revive the hopes of his partizans. Having gathered together a band of 600 men, of all nations, he made an attempt to land on the
Kentish

Kentish coast, but 150 of his men were taken and executed. This year a parliament was summoned in England, and another in Ireland. Every part of their conduct tended to establish the authority of Henry, and the tranquility of his dominions.

After Perkin was repulsed from the coast of Kent, he retired into Flanders; but not finding subsistence for himself and his followers, he soon after made an unsuccessful attempt on Ireland. His next destination was Scotland, where he met with a favourable reception. James was so far seduced to believe the story of Perkin's birth, as to give him in marriage the lady Catharine Gordon, a near kinswoman of his own, a young lady eminent for birth as well as beauty. The jealousy subsisting betwixt the courts of Scotland and England might influence James to pay attention to any fiction which could distress his enemy. He carried Perkin along with him in an inroad into England; but finding every where a disposition to oppose his arms, and hearing of an army being on its march to attack him, he returned to his own country. Henry took advantage of this irruption to draw money from his own subjects. He summoned a parliament, which granted him a subsidy to the amount of 120,000 pounds, together with two fifteenths. When this subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, and inflamed by the seditious speeches of one Michael Joseph a farrier, and Thomas Flamroe a lawyer, chose these men for their leaders, and advancing through the county of Devon, reached that of Somerset. When they reached Wells, they were joined by Lord Audley, whom they joyfully received as their leader. As the insurgents behaved in an inoffensive manner, and received no accession of force on their march, Henry, contrary to his usual custom, although he had already levied an army to oppose the Scots, allowed them to encamp near Eltham, at the very gates of London. After all his forces were collected, he marched out to meet the rebels, and gained an easy victory over them at Blackheath. Their leaders were executed, and the rest dis-

missed without any punishment. The Scottish king was not idle during these commotions. He sat down before the castle of Norham in Northumberland; but hearing the earl of Surry was advancing with an army, he retreated into his own country. A truce was concluded between the two nations, and Perkin was ordered by James to leave Scotland. Access was now barred him in the low countries by a commercial treaty, and he had no resource but to lie hid in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient of this retreat, he appeared at Bodnim in Cornwall, where the populace, to the number of 3000, repaired to his standard. Henry expressed great joy at the news of Perkin's arrival in England, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him. The nobility and the whole nation shewed the greatest ardor in the cause. The condition of Perkin became desperate, and he retired to the sanctuary of Beaulieu. Lady Catharine Gordon fell into the king's hands, and was treated with a generosity which does him honour. Perkin himself was persuaded to leave his sanctuary on the promise of pardon; and having made a full confession of his imposture, though his life was granted him, he was detained in custody, and keepers appointed him. But, on account of an attempt to regain his liberty, he was confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprize still followed him. By means of four servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, he opened a correspondence with the earl of Warwick, who, from his long confinement, had fallen into a simplicity which made him susceptible of any impressions. In consequence of this conspiracy, Perkin was hanged at Tyburn; and soon after Warwick was executed, on pretence of his having formed designs to disturb the government. This violent tyranny, the great reproach of Henry's reign, begot great discontent among the people; but the vigilance of his character was sufficient to keep his enemies in awe. His alliance was courted by foreign princes. And he had the satisfaction of completing a marriage between Arthur prince of Wales, and Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand

Ferdinand and Isabella. But the young prince died a few months after, very much regretted by the whole nation. Henry, desirous to continue the alliance with Spain, and unwilling to restore Catharine's dowry, forced his second son, Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the princess. The same year a marriage was concluded between Margaret, his eldest daughter, and James king of Scotland; a marriage which, in the next age, was productive of great events.

1503.—The situation of the king's affairs, at home and abroad, was now in every respect fortunate; but his avarice, which had ever been his predominant passion, led him to the most cruel acts of oppression and injustice. Epson and Dudley were the ministers whom he employed to prey on the defenceless people. The chief instruments of their oppression were the penal statutes. Spies, informers, and inquisitors, were employed in every corner of the kingdom; and no difference was made whether the statute was beneficial or hurtful, recent, or obsolete. A parliament was summoned this year, and without any pretence of war, a subsidy was granted him; and the next year he levied a new benevolence. By these arts of accumulation, he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of 1,800,000 pounds. The death of Isabella, queen of Castile, as it much affected the fortunes of Ferdinand, was the object of anxiety and concern to Henry. Ferdinand had become very unpopular in Castile, and the states of the kingdom discovered a preference to the archduke Philip, who had married Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Isabella. To take advantage of this disposition, the archduke and his consort embarked for Spain, but were obliged to take shelter from a storm in the harbour of Weymouth. The king, on several pretences, detained them in England. But the only advantage he gained from his royal visitors, was the recovery of the earl of Suffolk, whom he committed to the Tower; and a treaty of commerce between England and Castile. The archduke was joyfully received in Spain; but dying soon

after, Ferdinand was reinstated in his authority, and governed till his death the whole Spanish monarchy.

The king survived these transactions two years. He died of a consumption in the fifty-second year of his age, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months. His capacity was excellent, but somewhat contracted by the narrowness of his heart. Avarice was his ruling passion: And he remains almost the only instance of a man in high station, and possessed of talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above ambition. It was during his reign, on the 2d of August 1492, that Christopher Columbus, a Florentine, set out from Cadiz on his voyage for the discovery of the western world; and a few years after, Basquez de Gama, a Portuguese, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXI.

HENRY VIII. 1509.

THE accession and coronation of Henry VIII. spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction; and the favourable prepossessions of the public were encouraged by the measures which Henry embraced in the beginning of his reign. All the ministers who had long been accustomed to business, and who were the least unpopular under the late king, composed his council. But the chief competitors for the favour of the new king, were the earl of Surrey treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. Surrey was the most dexterous courtier in accommodating himself to the gay temper of Henry, and in assisting him to spend the treasures amassed by his father. The same frank and careless humour, which led him to dissipate his treasures, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments who had amassed it; and Empson and Dudley fell a sacrifice to the indignation of the people. The importance of the Spanish alliance determined the council to give Henry their advice for completing the marriage with the infanta Catharine, to whom he was affianced during his father's lifetime.

1510.—Lewis XII. of France, after the conquest of Milan, was the only great prince who possessed any territory in Italy. His restless ambition led him to desire the possession of Naples; and, in conjunction with Ferdinand, with whom a plan of partition of that

that kingdom was settled, he expelled Frederick from his dominions. But Ferdinand gave private orders to his general Gonsalvo to attack the French armies, and make himself master of all the dominions of Naples. About the same time, Pope Julius II. formed the league of Cambray, between himself, Maximilian the emperor, Lewis XII. and Ferdinand of Arragon, the object of which was to overwhelm the commonwealth of Venice; and they succeeded in humbling it. Julius was next inspired with the nobler ambition of expelling all foreigners from Italy. He declared war against the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis, and solicited the assistance of England, by sending Henry a sacred rose, perfumed with musk, and anointed with chrism. Ferdinand of Arragon regarded the cause of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his own ambition. Henry, naturally sincere, was led into the confederacy by the distresses of the pope, and the antipathy against France, together with the ancient claims on that kingdom. He made a formal demand of the provinces which had formerly been in the possession of the English; and this demand was understood to be a declaration of war. Ferdinand, solely intent on his own interest, advised Henry not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he could not assist him, but to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of the province of Guienne. He promised to assist him in this undertaking, by the junction of a Spanish army. The marquis of Dorset was sent over with 10,000 men. And so forward did his father-in-law appear to promote the interests of Henry, that he sent ships to England to transport the forces. The secret purpose of Ferdinand, in this unexampled generosity, was suspected by none. No sooner was Dorset landed in Guipiscoa, than the Spanish monarch declared his readiness to join him; but observed that it would be necessary to get possession of Navarre, a kingdom on the frontiers, and at that time in strict alliance with France. He required that John d'Albert, the present king, should stipulate

a neutrality in the present war, and deliver up six of his most considerable places, and his eldest son, as pledges of the stipulation. These conditions being rejected, he ordered his general, the duke of Alva, to make an invasion of Navarre. Dorset, as he had no orders, refused to act in this business; but so artfully had Ferdinand laid the scheme, that the situation of the English army was of equal service to him, by keeping the French in awe; and the kingdom of Navarre submitted to Ferdinand. The English general, perceiving the deceit, returned to England. This war, however, though of no advantage to England, obliged Lewis to withdraw his forces from Italy; and, in the space of a few weeks, he entirely lost his Italian conquests.

1513.—Henry, notwithstanding his disappointment in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis. A new parliament was summoned, which granted him a poll-tax for this enterprise. He sent an ambassador to accommodate all differences in Scotland; but, though he was informed that the Scottish king was in alliance with France, and had sent a squadron of ships to her assistance, yet his ardour for military fame was little discouraged, and so much the less, that he flattered himself with powerful aids in his invasion of France. He had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations. Thomas Wolsey, son of a butcher at Ipswich, had been employed by the late king, and, from the beginning of this reign, was considered as a rising man at court. Fox introduced him into the young prince's familiarity, hoping that he might rival Surrey in his insinuating arts, and yet act under him. Wolsey, in a short time, supplanted Surrey in the king's favour, and Fox in his confidence. He advanced this favourite to be a member of his council; and, soon after, he became his sole and absolute minister.

Great preparations had been making during the winter for the invasion of France; but the summer was well advanced before Henry, attended by a great number

number of his nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered on his French expedition. None of his allies fulfilled their engagements, except the Swiss, who were preparing to enter France with 25,000 men. The French were at first successful in throwing supplies into Terouane. But the English soon after received full revenge at the battle of Guinegate, or, as it is called, the battle of Spurs, because the French that day, although consisting of their most veteran troops, made more use of their spurs than of their military weapons. After this victory, the king, who was at the head of 50,000 men, might have marched directly to the gates of Paris. But he lost the opportunity by returning to the siege of Terouane; and, after this place was taken, at the instigation of the emperor, who served in person in his army, he laid siege to Tournay. The Swiss, on the other hand, who had entered Burgundy, allowed themselves to be seduced into a treaty by the governor of that province, who made many promises to get rid of so powerful an enemy. Henry was successful in all his attempts, but they were of no importance to the purposes of his expedition. He returned to England with his army, much elated by his victories. The success of his arms in the north were much more decisive. The king of Scotland had passed the Tweed with the whole force of his kingdom. The earl of Surrey having collected an army of 15,000 men, engaged him at Flouden, where the king and the flower of the Scottish nobility were slain, and the army dispersed. A peace with Scotland, in consequence of this victory, enabled Henry to prosecute with great tranquility his enterprise against France. But the pope, not disposed to push Lewis to extremity, and Ferdinand renewing the truce, and Maximilian entering into an alliance with the French, while they enraged Henry in the highest degree, made him hearken to terms of accommodation; and a peace was finally concluded, on condition that Tournay should remain with the English, and that Henry should receive a million of crowns. In consequence of this treaty, Mary, the princess of England,

England, was married to Lewis. He died in three months after this marriage, to the infinite regret of his subjects, who stiled him the father of his people. His queen afterwards married Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; and he was succeeded in the throne by Francis, duke of Angouleme, a youth of one and twenty, who had married his eldest daughter.

1515.—Wolsey had now attained the summit of his ambition, and enjoyed, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king. The dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, together with the bishop of Winchester, retired from court. Wolsey was advanced to the greatest ecclesiastical dignities, and was even allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, and soon after that of Winchester. He was appointed chancellor, in room of the archbishop of Canterbury, who retired from public employment; and the greatest pomp was displayed in his equipage, dress, and manner of living. He was, notwithstanding, strict and impartial in the administration of justice; and he zealously encouraged learning, both by his public institutions, and his private bounty. The tranquility of England was well established; the obedience of the people was entire; and no domestic occurrence happened to disturb the repose of the king and his minister.

Francis, a young and active prince, of a martial disposition, already began to give presages of his future valour, and neglected not to employ the preparations made by his predecessor for the conquest of Milan. He renewed the treaty with Henry, marched his armies to the south of France, and rendered the conquest of the Milanese easy and certain, by a great victory gained over the Swiss, who protected Maximilian duke of Milan, in one of the most furious and best contested battles that is to be met with in the history of those latter ages. The success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in Henry; and this was heightened by Wolsey, who resented a slight put upon him by Francis, because he had neglected

glected to bestow another see on the bishop of Tournay, that Wolsey might enjoy undisturbed possession of that bishopric. But Henry, after expending a great deal of money to procure alliances, found it prudent to proceed no farther at present in his enmity against France.

Ferdinand, king of Spain, whose death had been long looked for, was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his grandson Charles. The rivalry which existed between that prince and Francis made it necessary for the latter to gain the confidence and friendship of Henry; and he took at last the only method by which he could obtain success, the paying of court, by presents and flattery, to the haughty cardinal. Wolsey was not deaf to so honourable advances, and, by his advice, Tournay was ceded to France. Bonivet, who had been dispatched to London, in order, by insinuation and address, to gain the favour, and secure the interest of the cardinal, likewise proposed the delivery of Calais for a sum of money; but this was so disagreeable to all men, that Wolsey ventured not to lay the matter before the council. The pride of Wolsey was now farther increased by being appointed the pope's legate to England, an office which he executed in the most arbitrary manner. He affected the utmost state and parade, and erected a legantine court, armed with powers of the most dangerous kind, to inquire into all matters of conscience, and into all actions, which, though they might escape the law, might appear necessary to good morals.

While Henry, indulging in pleasure and amusement, entrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, an event happened abroad which excited his attention; this was the death of the emperor Maximilian. The candidates for the imperial throne were the kings of France and Spain. Charles at length prevailed, to the great disgust of the French monarch, who could not suppress his indignation at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, disappointed in so important a pretension. From this competition, and
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from an opposition of interests, arose a perpetual emulation between these two monarchs; and Henry's situation in Europe enabled him to hold the balance between them. Both parties paid their court to the king of England, and endeavoured to fix him in their interests. Francis solicited an interview with him near Calais; and, when he was preparing to depart for that place, he heard that the emperor, who, to flatter his vanity, had come to pay him a visit in his own dominions, was arrived at Dover. Charles, beside the marks of regard and attachment which he shewed to Henry, endeavoured by all means to gain the cardinal; he instilled into this inspiring prelate the hopes of obtaining the papacy; and as that was the sole point of elevation beyond his present greatness, he secretly devoted himself to that monarch's interests. Upon the emperor's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court, and met Francis in a plain between Guisnes and Ardres, but still within the English pale; a compliment paid to Henry, in consideration of his having passed the sea, that he might be present at the interview. Here the two monarchs lived in the greatest friendship and familiarity, and passed the time in tournaments and festivals. A defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy to answer all comers that were gentlemen at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs advanced into the field on horseback, the most comely personages of the age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise, and surrounded with each other's guard. They carried away the prize at all trials in those rough and dangerous pastimes; and several riders and horses were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in the feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter when they judged it expedient. After mutual presents and marks of confidence, the two monarchs took leave of each other; and Henry went to
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pay a visit to the emperor at Gravelines. Charles accompanied him to Calais, and passed some days in that fortress. Here this artful and politic prince completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendship to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. The personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon after broke out into hostilities; and Henry, impelled by his own prejudices, and by the instigations of Wolfey, concluded, without regard to the balance of power, an offensive alliance with the pope and emperor against France.

Wolfey every day gave new instances of his uncontrouled authority. He brought to trial the duke of Buckingham, the first nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, who had imprudently given him disgust; and that nobleman was condemned by the verdict of a jury, which was soon after carried into execution. Those religious controversies, which ended in the reformation, had already begun in many of the countries of Europe; but it was not till this time that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel. For this event, one of the most important in the history of the world, the minds of men were in a great measure prepared by that extension of light and knowledge which now began to diffuse themselves through Europe; but it owed its rise to a particular incident, namely, the abuses committed in the sale of indulgences; a traffic which was entrusted to the management of the Dominican friars. Martin Luther, an Austrian friar, and professor in the university of Wirtemberg, began to preach against these abuses; and, as his views became more enlarged, he proceeded to decry indulgences themselves, to question the pope's authority, and to attack the whole fabric of Romish superstition. His opinions were greedily hearkened to; the number of his disciples daily increased. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, in a little time, heard the advice of this reform-

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er; and many princes shewed a favourable disposition towards the new religion. The reformation soon made its appearance in England, and secretly gained many partizans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a strict attachment to the church of Rome, and opposed all his influence and authority to the progress of the Lutheran opinions. He even wrote a book in Latin, which procured him from Leo X. the title of *Defender of the Faith*. But both the authority and arguments of the king were unable to prevail against the force of truth; and the reformation daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe. Pope Leo had overlooked it in the beginning, and, when once it had taken root, it was impossible for his successor Adrian, a man of inferior abilities, to check its progress.

1522.—About this time the emperor paid a second visit to England; and, after renewing the former treaty, and ingratiating himself with Henry and his minister, he set sail for Spain. The English, under the earl of Surrey, invaded France with an army of 18,000 men; but, after wasting his time and forces without being able to bring the French to a general engagement, he at length put his troops into winter quarters about the end of October. The reason why the war with France was carried on with so little vigour was the want of money. The treasures of Henry VIII. were long ago dissipated; the king's habits of expence still remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charges of government, much less to his military enterprises. He published an edict for a general tax on all his subjects, which he still called a loan; and next year summoned a parliament, together with a convocation, from whom he demanded the sum of 800,000l.; but they granted only a half of this sum, and even told Wolsey, who came to reason with them, on the subject, that it was a rule of the house never to reason but among themselves. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the commons, that; as he had not called a parliament for seven years before, he

he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another.

Cardinal Wolsey was again disappointed in his hopes of the papacy, by the election of Clement VII. as successor of Adrian. This proof of insincerity in the emperor gave great offence to the ambitious prelate, who thenceforth began to estrange himself from the imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his master and the French king. He concealed his disgust, however, and applied for a renewal of the legantine powers, which was granted him for life. The campaign against France produced nothing of importance; and the English and Flemings, after advancing within eleven leagues of Paris, retired, without effecting any enterprise, into their respective countries.

1525.—The defeat of the French at Pavia, together with the captivity of their king, made Henry sensible of his own danger, and that of all Europe, from the loss of a counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the distressed condition of Francis, he determined to embrace the alliance of France, and entered into a treaty with his mother, the regent, whereby he engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable terms. Foreseeing that this treaty might involve him in a war with the emperor, he determined also to fill his treasury, and levied, by his own prerogative, a tax on all his subjects, which he stiled a *benevolence*, but which was not paid without great murmuring and opposition. These arbitrary impositions being imputed to the cardinal, increased the general odium under which he laboured. Complaints against his administration even reached the king's ears; and, desirous to appease him, he made a present to Henry of a splendid palace, which he had built for his own use at Hampton court, pretending that it was from the first designed for the use of the king.

When Francis recovered his liberty, he refused to fulfil the conditions of the treaty by which he was liberated, and, in conjunction with the king of England,

land, sent ambassadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns for the ransom of Francis's two sons, who had been delivered as hostages. This being refused by the emperor, war was denounced against him, and a league was formed by France, England, and the Italian states, to humble the growing power of that ambitious monarch. The Low Countries were first pitched upon to be the seat of war; but, when Francis and Henry heard of the sack of Rome by the emperor's troops, under the duke of Bourbon, and of the captivity of the pope, they determined to carry their arms into Italy. Domestic occurrences, however, soon diverted Henry's attention from foreign concerns.

1527.—Henry VII. had, on his death-bed, expressed his disapprobation of his son's marriage with Catherine of Arragon; and, notwithstanding the respect paid to the papal authority before the reformation, the bulk of men considered it as unlawful. The states of Castile, as well as the French ambassador, had objected to the legitimacy of the young princess Mary; and Henry was afraid that, if any doubts were entertained about the lawfulness of his marriage, the king of Scots, the next heir, might take advantage of his daughter's weakness, advance his pretensions, and throw the whole kingdom into confusion. But what, more than all these considerations, tended to raise scruples in the mind of the capricious Henry, and to make him desirous of a dissolution of his marriage with the queen, was an attachment which he had formed with Ann Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and allied to all the principal nobleman in the kingdom. Having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had gained an entire ascendant over his affections; and, as the monarch had no hopes of gratifying his passion but by marrying her, he entertained the design of raising her to the throne. He therefore applied to the pope
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for a divorce from Catharine ; and Clement, who was then a prisoner, and hoped to recover his liberty, chiefly by the exertions of the league in his favour, gave a very favourable answer to his request. But, after he obtained his liberty, the emperor, who embraced the cause of his aunt, and who rejoiced in this opportunity of distressing his enemy, so terrified him by his menaces, and allured him by promises, that he could be brought only to grant a commission, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolsey, for the trial of Henry's marriage, together with a promise not to recal the present commission, but couched in such ambiguous terms as left him still the power, whenever he pleased, of departing from it.

Campeggio, upon his arrival in England, began with exhorting the king to desist from the prosecution of his divorce ; but, finding that this gave offence, he endeavoured, by the most artful delays, to protract the decision till the pope had leisure to adjust the terms of a treaty with the emperor, whose interest had proved more powerful with the timid and deceitful pontiff than that of the kings of France and England. The two legates at length opened their court, at which, that the trial might have the greater appearance of impartiality, the Italian cardinal was allowed to preside ; and they cited the king and queen to appear before them. They both presented themselves ; the king answered to his name when called ; but the queen, instead of answering to her's, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes, rendered the more affecting. She told him she was a stranger in his kingdom, and depended for protection and council upon her connection with him and his family ; that, during the twenty years she had been his wife, she had ever behaved with the most affectionate submission, and the strictest fidelity ; that her virgin honour was yet unstained when he received her into his bed ; that their parents, by whom the match had been formed, were the wisest princes of their age ; that she acquiesced in
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their judgment, and would not submit to be tried by a court from whom she could not expect an impartial decision. After having spoken in this manner she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and would never again appear in it. Meanwhile the trial proceeded; the king every day expected a decision in his favour, when the sudden evocation of the cause to the court of Rome put an end to the hopes which he had so long and so anxiously cherished.

1529.—The king's affections were henceforth alienated from his favourite Wolsey, who foresaw this event as the sure forerunner of his ruin. The extreme ardour and impatience of Henry's temper could bear no contradiction, and he made his ministers answerable, without examination, for the success of those transactions with which they were entrusted. The king's prejudices against Wolsey were fortified by Anne Boleyn, who imputed to him the failure of her hopes; the queen and her partizans expressed great animosity against him; and the most opposite factions seemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty minister. The great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir Thomas More. He was ordered to depart from York place; the riches and splendor of which befitted rather a royal than a private fortune, and which afterwards became the residence of the king's of England by the title of Whitehall. All his goods and furniture were seized and confiscated; he was indicted in the star chamber, and a sentence passed against him; a charge was voted against him in the house of lords, but he was ably defended in the house of commons by Thomas Cromwel, whom the cardinal had raised from a very low station, and who afterwards enjoyed great favour with the king. His enemies, finding no just ground of accusation against him, indicted him on a statute of Richard II. commonly called the statute of provisors, and sentence was pronounced against him, "that he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed

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to custody." But the prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther; Henry even granted him a pardon for all his offences, and still continued to drop expressions of favour and compassion towards him.

Wolsey was as much dejected in adversity, as he had been elated in prosperity. He retired first to Asher; he afterwards removed to Richmond; and, being ordered to retire to his see of York, he took up his residence at Cawood in Yorkshire. But, as Henry dreaded the opposition which he would meet with from the cardinal in his disputes with the pope and the ecclesiastical order, he did not remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolsey's character, to arrest him for high treason, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal fell sick on the road; having with some difficulty reached Leicester abbey, he told the monks, who advanced to meet him, that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he rose no more. A little before he expired, he entreated the constable of the Tower, who had him in custody, to recommend him to the king, and to beseech his majesty to call to mind all that had passed between them, that he might know in his conscience whether he had offended him; adding, that if he had but served God as faithfully as he had served the king, he would not have given him over in his gray hairs.

The domestic transactions of England were at present so interesting to the king, that he regarded foreign affairs only in subordination to them. He had exercised no hostility against any of the imperial dominions, except by money contributed to the Italian wars; and this year a general peace was established in Europe. The usurpations and corruptions of the clergy were now become an universal and popular subject of complaint; and even the parliament passed several bills restraining their impositions. Henry, not displeased that the pope and clergy should be sensible that they were entirely dependent on him, seconded
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the inclinations of his parliament, and shewed himself sufficiently disposed to reduce the power and privileges of the ecclesiastics. He was even tempted, by the duplicity and selfish politics of Clement, to break off all connection with the church of Rome; but he dreaded the reproach of heresy, and of inconsistency, and he abhorred all connections with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power. While agitated by these contrary motives, he determined, by the advice of Dr Thomas Cranmer, who was now become a great favourite with the king, to consult all the universities in Europe about the legality of his marriage. Most of them gave a verdict in the king's favour; and Henry, fortified by their opinion, refused to appear, either in person or by proxy, before the tribunal of the pontiff. The king soon after extorted a confession from a convocation of the clergy, that *he was the protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England*; and they agreed to pay 118,840*l.* in order to obtain a pardon for their submission to the legantine court, whereby it was pretended they violated the statute of provisors. By this strict execution of the statute of provisors a great part of the profit, and still more of the power of the court of Rome, was cut off; and the connection between the pope and the English clergy was in some measure dissolved.

1532.—In the next session of parliament several acts were passed detrimental to the interests of the pope; and Sir Thomas More perceiving that all the measures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the court of Rome, desired leave to resign the great seal. Henry had this year an interview with Francis, whom he endeavoured to persuade to imitate his example, in withdrawing his obedience to the court of Rome, and administering ecclesiastical affairs without having any farther recourse to that see; and being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolved to stand to the consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn.

The parliament was again assembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation,

proceeded still in those gradual and secure steps by which they loosened their connections with the see of Rome. An act was made against all appeals to Rome; and Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage. Sentence was soon after pronounced by Cranmer, now archbishop of Canterbury, declaring the king's marriage with Catharine unlawful and invalid; and, though the king desired her to make choice of any of his palaces in which she should please to reside, he informed her that she was thenceforth to be treated only as princess dowager of Wales. Anne Boleyn was publicly crowned queen, and, to the great joy of Henry, soon after delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity.

1534.—The report of these proceedings threw the conclave into a rage; the pope and cardinals, by a precipitate sentence, pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catherine valid; declared Henry to be excommunicated if he refused to adhere to it; and thus completed the rupture which impended between England and the Romish church. Meanwhile, laws totally destructive of papal authority were passed by the parliament; the king was declared supreme head of the church of England; and even the convocation voted that the bishop of Rome had no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop. During this session of parliament, it was enacted that the crown should descend to the issue of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn; and an oath was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of succession. Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, who refused to take this oath, were committed prisoners to the Tower.

Though the king and the nation had thus thrown off the Romish yoke, and the doctrines of Luther had already gained many adherents, Henry determined by no means to encourage the reformation, but still to maintain the Catholic faith. The reformers, who insisted on the right of private judgment, and

and who struck at the root of old opinions, were suspected of encouraging innovations and principles unfavourable to that absolute authority which Henry more than any prince in Europe possessed. He had entered the lists with Luther, and he was ashamed to retract; besides, the indecent treatment which he had once received from that reformer created in him an indelible hatred against him and his doctrines. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester, were of the same principles with the king; but the queen, Cranmer, and Cromwel, now secretary of state, had adopted the Protestant tenets. Both parties, knowing the passionate and obstinate temper of the king, endeavoured, by a blind submission to his will, to gain him over to their interests.

In the mean time, the reformation continued to make a rapid progress among the people; and this was accelerated by the works of Protestants who had taken refuge in the Low Countries, and who employed themselves in writing English books against the corruptions of Rome, and in particular by a translation of the bible, published by one Tindal. The disciples of the reformation were not molested during the administration of Wolsey; but they experienced great severity from Sir Thomas More, who, though a man of the gentlest manners, and purest integrity, was guilty of the greater violence in the persecution of heretics than the most blood-thirsty inquisitor. He ordered one Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, who was accused of favouring the new opinions, to be whipped and tortured in his presence, and afterwards to be burned in Smithfield as an obstinate heretic. Many were brought before the bishop's courts for the most trivial offences; some for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English; others for reading the New Testament in that language, or for speaking against pilgrimages. But the patience, fortitude, and devotion with which the reformers suffered for their opinions gained the pity and regard of the spectators; and those severe executions to which they were exposed, and which, in another disposition

of men's minds, would have sufficed to suppress it, now served only to diffuse it the more among the people, and to inspire them with horror against the unrelenting persecutors.

But, though Henry thus persecuted the Protestants, his indignation fell likewise on some of the Catholics. The monks, who had an immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the consequence of abolishing his authority in England. They, therefore, condemned the king's proceedings in the most insolent and obstinate manner; and this, together with the detection of an imposture, which they endeavoured to practise by means of one Elisabeth Barton, commonly called the *Holy Maid of Kent*, instigated the king to take vengeance on them. The ringleaders in the conspiracy were put to death; several of the monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues seized by the king. Fisher and More were likewise condemned and executed, because they refused to admit the king's supremacy. These proceedings excited such indignation in Paul III. that he cited Henry to appear in Rome within ninety days, to answer for his crimes; if he failed, he excommunicated him, deprived him of his crown, and gave his kingdom to any invader. Henry, to secure himself against any attempt from Charles, renewed his friendship with Francis, and also made advances to the princes of the Protestant league in Germany. But an incident happened which seemed to pave the way for a reconciliation between them. This was the death of Catharine, who expired after a lingering illness. On her death-bed she wrote a tender letter to the king, declaring her affection towards him, together with her forgiveness of all the injuries which she had received from him, and recommended her daughter to his care. The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears; but queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency and humanity could permit.

The present situation of affairs in Europe made Henry indifferent to some advances which were made
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him by the emperor; and the absolute authority with which he ruled his own subjects secured his tranquillity at home. He seized the opportunity, therefore, to accomplish the ruin of his enemies, the monks, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues. He ordered a visitation of the monasteries, under the direction of Cromwel the secretary; and monstrous disorders are said to have been found in many of the religious houses; whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness; signs of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural lusts between persons of the same sex. Some few monasteries, terrified with this rigorous inquisition, surrendered their revenues into the king's hands; orders were given to dismiss such nuns and friars as were below four and twenty; and the report of the visitors was published, in order to excite the indignation of the people against monastic institutions. But the king, though determined utterly to abolish the monastic order, proceeded gradually, and contented himself with giving directions to his parliament to suppress only the smaller monasteries which possessed revenues below two hundred pounds a-year. By this act, 376 monasteries were suppressed, 10,000 monks were turned out, and 32,000*l.* a-year was added to the king's revenue, besides 100,000*l.* more in effects. The convocation which sat during this session were engaged in deliberating about a new translation of the scriptures. The propriety of this measure was keenly debated by the friends of the reformation, and the adherents of the old religion; but the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops, who were supposed to speak the king's sense of the matter, prevailed; a vote was passed for a new translation; and in three years time the work was finished and printed at Paris.

But the friends of reformation soon experienced a great loss by the disgrace of Anne Boleyn, who no longer possessed the king's affections. Satiety had followed enjoyment; certain harmless liberties, on which the queen's enemies put a malignant interpretation, had excited Henry's jealousy; the delivery of

a dead son, inflamed the violent temper of the disappointed monarch; and, above all, the transference of his affections towards Jane Seymore, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, determined him to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. One day the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; which the king interpreting as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours, he ordered her to be confined to her chamber; and her brother, viscount Rocheford, together with four servants of the court, with whom she was accused of a criminal correspondence, to be thrown into prison. Next day, the unfortunate queen was sent to the Tower; and, of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of her temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, not one durst interpose between her and the king's fury. She wrote Henry a letter from her prison, full of the most tender expostulations, and of the warmest protestations of innocence; but this letter had no effect on the unrelenting mind of the king, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. The four gentlemen of the court were tried, condemned without legal evidence, and executed. One of them, induced by a vain hope of pardon, confessed a criminal correspondence with the queen; but her enemies never dared to confront him with her. Another of them, though offered his life, refused to accuse her, and declared that he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, at the head of whom was their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, who preferred the connections of party to the ties of blood. The chief evidence of the incest imputed to them was, that Rocheford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart, which was asserted to be slander upon the issue begotten between the king and her, and consequently a violation of a late statute, in which it was declared criminal to
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throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. These things appeared to the peers of England a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Judgment was given against her, and she and her brother were condemned to be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced, she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands to heaven, she said, "O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate." Previous to her execution, she was prevailed on, by menaces of executing the sentence in its greatest rigour, to confess in court some lawful impediments to her marriage with the king; and Cranmer, who sat as judge, and who, of all her adherents, alone retained a friendship for her, was obliged to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. She now prepared for death, and continued to behave with her usual serenity and cheerfulness. "The executioner," said she to the lieutenant of the Tower, "is, I hear, very expert; and my neck is very slender;" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. On the scaffold she said that she was come to die as she was sentenced by the law; she prayed heartily for the king; and, if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best. Her body was thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows; and was buried in the Tower. The cruel heart of the king was not softened a moment by the bloody catastrophe of a person who had so long been the object of his most tender affections; and he was married to Jane Seymore the very day after the execution.

These events made it necessary for the king to summon a parliament, which, as well as the former ones, he found entirely submissive to his will. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour; the prerogatives of the crown were enlarged; and, whoever maintained the authority of the bishop

of Rome, was to have his goods forfeited, and to be put out of the protection of the law. Henry was now become indifferent to papal censures; and finding a great increase of authority, as well as of revenue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to persevere in his present measures. The convocation were equally complaisant with the parliament. There was secretly a great division of sentiments in this assembly; and, after some debate, they decided articles of faith, favourable partly to the new, and partly to the old religion. Both parties promoted the king's views; the Protestants, by their opposition to the pope, seconded his ambition and love of power; and the Catholics, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, conformed more with his speculative principles.

Though the concurrence of these two national assemblies gave Henry a more absolute authority over the people than any prince in a simple monarchy, even by means of a military force, can ever attain; yet his tyrannical proceedings excited numerous complaints; and the people, instigated by the clergy, proceeded in many places to revolt. A tumultuary army of 20,000 men, which had assembled in Lincolnshire, was dispersed without having recourse to force. A more dangerous rebellion in the north was suppressed by the duke of Norfolk, and several noblemen and gentlemen, who had been concerned in it, were tried and executed. An event happened soon after which crowned Henry's joy; this was the birth of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward. But his happiness was not without alloy, for the queen died two days after.

1538.—Henry thought this a favourable opportunity to complete the suppression of the monasteries, a measure, to which he was impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion. The better to reconcile the people to this innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars; the relics also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the
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object of veneration, were exposed to ridicule. Protestant writers mention, on this occasion, the parings of St Edmund's toes, some of the coals that roasted St Laurence, the girdle of the virgin, shown in eleven different places, two or three heads of St Ursula, the felt of St Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the headach, part of St Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big bellied women, &c. In one place, there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem, which was invisible to any one in mortal sin, till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was detected. The monks put the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week, in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent chrystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to shew him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and they then made him happy by turning the phial. An image, the lips, eyes, and head of which, moved at the approach of its votaries, was broken down, and the secret springs shewn to the people. A great wooden idol, called *Darvel Gatherin*, was brought to London, and, by a cruel refinement in vengeance, was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. But, of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St Thomas of Canterbury. The riches, of which it was plundered, were immense; and no wonder; for the devotion towards him had quite effaced at Canterbury the adoration of the Deity, nay even that of the virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; at the virgin's 63*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*; at St Thomas's, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* This saint was not only pillaged, but cited to appear in court, tried, and condemned as a traitor. On the whole, 645 monasteries were suppressed, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals

were demolished; the revenue of all these establishments, amounting to 161,100*l.* yearly, were seized upon by the king. These acts of violence excited the greatest indignation at Rome; the pope at last published the bull which had been passed against him, and in a public manner delivered his body to the devil, and his kingdom to any invader; libels were dispersed, in which he was compared to the most furious persecutors in antiquity. But Henry was too firmly seated on his throne to be shaken by those high sounding epithets and holy execrations, which, though they had long kept the world in subjection, were now fallen into contempt.

Henry had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council was summoned to meet at Mantua, he previously renounced all submission to it, as lying entirely under subjection to that spiritual usurper; and he engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the same purpose. Though he had gradually, since the commencement of the dispute, been changing the theological tenets of that system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few which remained, than if the whole fabric had continued entire. The point on which he chiefly rested his orthodoxy was the real presence, the most absurd and untenable of all the Romish doctrines. He held a disputation on this subject with one Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, in presence of the bishops, peers, lawyers, and courtiers; and the poor Lambert, confounded, but not convinced by the arguments of the king and prelates, was at length committed to the flames.

1539.—A new parliament, which, under this tyrannical prince, was an instrument of oppression, and not an assembly for the redress of grievances, was again summoned; and the bill of the six articles, or the bloody bill, as the Protestants justly termed it, was introduced, and, having passed the two houses, received the royal assent. In this law, the doctrine of the real presence was established, the communion in

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one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. The denial of the first article subjected the person to death by fire; and, by an unheard of severity, unknown to the inquisition itself, admitted not of abjuring. The denial of any of the rest, even though recanted, was punishable by forfeiture and imprisonment; if not recanted, by death. Commissioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into these heresies and irregular practices; and the criminals were to be tried by a jury. As soon as this act was passed, the Catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders; and no less than five hundred were in a little time thrown into prison. But Cromwell, who, from a blacksmith's son, had risen to the highest station, and to great favour with the king, remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents, and obtained permission to set them at liberty. The parliament having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil, by giving the same force to a proclamation from the king as to a statute enacted by parliament; and, to render the matter worse, they framed this law, as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of the royal authority.

Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the best beloved of all Henry's wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He demanded from the king of France the duchess dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guise, who being big made, was highly agreeable to his fancy. But Francis told him that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland, and offered him the choice of her two younger sisters, who were nowise inferior in merit or size, to their elder sister. The king was as scrupulous with regard to the person of his wives, as if he had been really susceptible of a delicate passion, and he proposed a conference with Francis at Calais, that he might have an opportunity of seeing the two princesses. But this proposal shocked the gallant spirit of Francis, who
had

had too much regard for the fair sex to carry them like geldings to market, there to be chosen or rejected by the humour of the purchaser. Henry, by the advice of Cromwell, at length concluded a marriage with Anne, daughter of the duke of Cleves, who was accordingly sent over to England. The king went privately to Rochester to get a sight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wish, but utterly destitute of beauty and grace: He swore that she was a great Flander's mare, and that he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant. It was the subject of debate among the counsellors, whether the princess might not be sent back to her country; but the king, afraid to give offence to the German princes, determined to complete the marriage, and told Cromwell, that since matters had gone so far he must put his neck into the yoke. But the king's favour to Cromwell began thenceforth to decline; and finding that great clamours had arisen on all hands against the administration, he determined, by sacrificing this minister, to regain the affections of his subjects. Cromwell was accused of high treason; and the parliament thought proper, without trial or evidence, to condemn to death the man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be the vicar-general of the universe. The king's aversion to the queen increased every day, and, having fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, he determined, in order to gratify this new appetite, to procure a divorce from his present consort, and to raise Catharine to his throne and bed. The convocation annulled the marriage between the king and queen, upon pretence of a precontract with the duke of Lorraine; and because Henry declared, that when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* consented, and had never thought proper to consummate the marriage. Anne was blessed with a happy insensibility of temper; and, when the king offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen
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and his own daughter, and to settle upon her 3000 l. a year; she accepted the terms, and consented to the divorce. She had, however, too much pride to return to her own country, but lived and died in England.

The passions of Henry, who had received some cause of offence from Francis, induced him to renounce the friendship of that monarch, and of the German princes, and to renew his ancient alliance with the emperor. This event, as well as the king's marriage with Catharine Howard, was very agreeable to his catholic subjects, who now commenced a furious persecution against the protestants. But Henry spared neither catholics nor protestants; they were sometimes carried to execution on the same hurdle; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged.

The king about this time went to York, where he purposed to have a conference with his nephew the king of Scotland, in order if possible, to cement a closer and indissoluble union between the kingdoms. The spirit of reformation, which had seized other parts of Europe, had also made its way into Scotland, and had begun to excite the same jealousies, fears, and persecutions. The clergy, therefore, endeavoured to dissuade James, who had promised to meet his uncle at York, from fulfilling his resolution; they were apprehensive of ruin to their order, from an interview with Henry, who was constantly soliciting his nephew to imitate his example in seizing the revenues of the church; and they induced the king, by a gratuity of 30,000 l. to depart from his promise. Henry, vexed at the disappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance against his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at sea, and incursions at land, to put his threats in execution.

But he received soon after an affront, to which he was more sensible, and which touched him in a point where he always shewed an extreme delicacy. This was the discovery of the queen's licentious conduct
previous

previous to marriage, and her infidelity to the king's bed. The evidence being perfectly satisfactory, the parliament passed a bill of attainder for treason against Catharine, who was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford, the conductor of her secret amours.

Henry being determined to avenge himself on the king of Scots, made preparations for war, and gave the command to the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots. His army consisted of about 20,000 men; they passed the Tweed at Berwick; but hearing that James had collected near 30,000 men, they retreated into their own country. The king determined to pursue them; but the resolution was opposed by his refractory nobles, and he sent 10,000 men, who adhered to him, to enter England in the west, while he himself followed at a little distance. In the mean time, a small body of the English appeared before the Scottish army, who were extremely disgusted, because the king had taken the command from lord Maxwell, and given it to his favourite Oliver Sinclair; the Scots were seized with a panic, put to flight, and many of them were taken prisoners. Shame and rage on account of this defeat so affected James, that he fell into a wasting melancholy, which soon after put an end to his life. Henry instantly formed the idea of uniting the two kingdoms, by marrying his son Edward to the infant daughter of James; the earl of Arran, the regent, accepted the proposal, and agreed that six Scottish noblemen should be delivered as hostages. But these measures were overturned by the intrigues of Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, who represented the union with England as highly dangerous to the ancient religion and independence of the kingdom; and, on the day appointed for the delivery of the hostages, the English ambassador was told that the condition could not be fulfilled.

As a rupture was, in consequence of this, expected with England, the cardinal and his party applied for assistance to France. Francis sent over the earl of Lenox,

Lenox, as a support to Beaton and the queen mother, promising them in a short time a supply of money, and, if necessary, military succours. The French party completely triumphed over the English, and the regent was obliged to entrust the infant queen to the charge of four neutral persons.

1543.---The opposition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues excited his resentment, and farther confirmed the resolution which he had already taken of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. War was accordingly declared against France; and it was agreed that the two monarchs should invade Francis's dominions with an army each of twenty-five thousand men.

Henry summoned a new parliament, in order to obtain supplies for this war; but no considerable advantage was gained by this powerful confederacy during the present year. Henry this year married Catherine Par, widow of Lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and inclined to the new opinions. This was a cause of triumph to the protestants; while the league with the emperor seemed equally favourable to the Catholics. Matters were nearly balanced between the factions, and all were bound to receive whatever doctrine the king should please to recommend to them.

In the mean time affairs had taken a new turn in Scotland. The earl of Arran had joined the party of the cardinal; and Lenox, discontented with their administration, had become the head of that party which favoured the English and the protestant religion. While the winter season restrained Henry from military operations, he summoned a new parliament, which restored the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession, and made some mitigation in the law of the six articles. Henry, who always found this assembly less lavish of their money, than of their civil and religious liberties, made no mention this season of a supply; but he contrived to fill his treasury by means of loans, benevolences, and other more arbitrary expedients. Early this year, the
English

English made an incursion into Scotland, and, after laying waste the whole country south of the Forth, retreated into England. Charles and Henry invaded France with a powerful army; Henry took Boulogne; but, finding that the emperor had made a separate peace with Francis, he was obliged to return into England.

The war with Scotland was conducted feebly, and with various success. The English received a considerable defeat from the Scots in a battle near An-crum; and the latter having received a body of auxiliaries from Francis, were enabled to make inroads on the English borders. The war likewise between France and England was not distinguished by any memorable event. Francis equipped a great fleet to prevent the English from succouring Boulogne, which he resolved to besiege; but, though he had likewise assembled a great army, he was not able to effect any considerable enterprize. The great expence of these wars obliged Henry to summon a new parliament, which granted him a subsidy, and showed their servility, by bestowing on him the revenues of the universities, a right which he never exercised. Next year a peace was concluded with France and Scotland; and all that Henry gained by a war, which cost him 1,340,000*l*, was the cession of Boulogne, till a debt due him by Francis was paid.

Henry had now leisure to attend to domestic concerns. Some years before, there had been published, by a commission of divines, a small volume, entitled the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which was regarded to be of the king's composition. The parliament, who took their religion upon trust, ratified before its publication all the tenets which it should contain; but the king soon after published a new book, different from the former, and required the belief of the nation to veer about at his signal. This year, some attempts were made by the courtiers against Cranmer, the primate, who had lately lost a sincere and powerful friend by the death of the duke of Suffolk; but the favour and protection of the king rendered fruitless

less all their cabals, and obliged them to come to a reconciliation. But, notwithstanding the king's favour for Cranmer, he continued to punish with the greatest severity all those who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself. Anne Ascue, a young woman of great beauty and merit, after being cruelly tortured, was committed to the flames for denying the real presence. Together with her, suffered John Lassels of the king's household, and John Adams a tailor, all of whom, though offered a pardon, refused to merit it by a recantation. Even the queen herself, having ventured to express in conversation sentiments different from those of the king, was in danger of losing her life for her temerity; but her prudence and address enabled her to elude the efforts of her enemies, and to recover the good graces of the king. Gardiner, whose malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain Henry's favour and good opinion.

An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than usually peevish and passionate. His tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, broke out soon after, to the destruction of the duke of Norfolk, one of the greatest subjects in the kingdom, who had rendered considerable service to the crown. But this very greatness excited the jealousy of the king, who foresaw great danger, during his son's minority, both to the public tranquillity, and the new ecclesiastical system, from the attempts of so potent a nobleman. The earl of Surrey, his son, a young man of the greatest accomplishments, had been imprudent enough to drop some menacing expressions against the minister on account of an affront put upon him; and, as this nobleman waved every proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he entertained views of espousing the Lady Mary. The king issued private orders to arrest Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the same day committed to the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and, as to proofs,
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neither parliaments nor juries seem to have given the least attention to them in any cause of the crown during this whole reign. He was condemned by a jury, merely on *suspicion*, and their sentence was soon after put in execution. To procure the condemnation of Norfolk, the king assembled a parliament; and the house of peers, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it to the commons. Henry finding his end approach, and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, sent a message to the house, desiring them to hasten the bill; and the obsequious commons failed not to obey his directions. Orders were issued for his execution on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January; but news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant, and the council did not think it advisable to begin a new reign with the death of the first nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

For several days the king was become so froward, that no one durst inform him of his condition. At last, Sir Anthony Denny ventured to disclose to him the fatal secret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expressed his resignation, and desired his servants to send for Cranmer, who, though for many years engaged in an opposite party to Norfolk, had retired to his seat at Croydon, because he would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution. Before the prelate arrived, the king was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ; he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, the fifty-sixth year of his age, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months.

Henry, by his will, which was made near a month before his demise, left the crown, first to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, and next to the lady Elisabeth, declaring that they forfeited their title if they married without the consent of the council whom

whom he appointed for the government of his minor son. After his own family, he settled the succession on the daughters of his sister, the French queen; passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister. The history of this prince is the best description of his character. He may have some claim to the appellation of a *great* prince, but his tyranny and barbarity totally exclude him from that of a *good* one. He possessed vigour of mind, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility. A catalogue of his vices, would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature; violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXII.

EDWARD VI. 1547.

THE first act of the council was, to appoint the earl of Hereford, the young king's maternal uncle, and soon after created duke of Somerset, to be protector of the kingdom. Wriothesley, created earl of Southampton, who had always been engaged in an opposite party to Somerset, was declared by the council to have forfeited the great seal, because he had put it in commission, and empowered four lawyers to execute, in his absence, the office of chancellor. Somerset soon after procured a patent from the young king, who was only nine years of age, naming himself protector, with full regal power, appointing a council, consisting of all the former counsellors, except Southampton, with power to nominate any other counsellors at pleasure, and empowering the protector and his council to execute whatever they deemed for the public good, without incurring any penalty or forfeiture. So little jealousy was then entertained concerning liberty, that this usurpation of Somerset was, without objection, universally submitted to.

The protector, who had long been regarded as a secret partizan of the reformers, now plainly discovered his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more the principles of the reformation. He was chiefly guided, in the measures which he pursued, by the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was

averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and worship which he deemed most pure and perfect. A visitation was appointed to be made in all the dioceses of England for the purpose of correcting irregularities in the clergy, abolishing ancient superstitions, and bringing the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the reformed churches. It was particularly ordered that the clergy should refrain from defending the ancient practices and superstitions in their discourses from the pulpit; and twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people. Gardner, bishop of Winchester, who opposed the progress of the reformation, was sent to the Fleet, where he suffered some severity.

In the mean time the reformation had likewise made great progress in Scotland; the cardinal primate had recourse to the most violent methods of suppressing the spirit of innovation, and committed to the flames one Wishart who had been active in publishing the new opinions. But his death was not long unrevenged; for the cardinal was soon after surprised and assassinated in his castle by Norman Lesly, and a party of followers. The assassins, reinforced by their friends, prepared themselves for the defence of the castle, and sent a messenger to England, craving assistance. The protector invaded Scotland with a fleet and army; Arran, the governor, summoned together the whole force of the kingdom; his army was double in number to that of the English, but they were defeated with great slaughter in the battle of Pinkey. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some counsellors, and even his own brother, were forming cabals against his authority.

1548.—The protector, on his arrival in England, summoned a parliament, which passed several laws, mitigating the severity of former statutes, and repealing
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ing the most rigorous laws enacted in the late reign, particularly the law of the six articles, and those regarding treason and the authority of proclamations. Some security was given to the freedom of the constitution, and some dawn, both of civil and religious liberty, began to appear to the people. The council proceeded in abolishing the superstition of ancient religion; images were removed from the churches, and, as private masses were abolished by law, a new communion service was composed, wherein the practice of auricular confession was left wholly indifferent.

The Scots, having received succours from France, were making considerable progress in recovering the fortresses held by the English in that kingdom. The hostile attempts of the late king, and of the protector, had irritated the Scottish nation, and inspired them with an aversion to the English alliance. It was determined, therefore, to send the queen to France; and was understood to be the necessary consequence, to marry her to the dauphin. The protector, pressed by difficulties at home, offered the Scots a nine years truce; but, as they insisted on his restoring all the places which he had taken, the proposal came to nothing. He then raised an army, which, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, penetrated into Scotland, and, after supplying Haddington, retired into England.

The distractions and divisions which had crept into the English councils were one principal cause which enabled the Scots to support themselves against their more powerful neighbours. These divisions arose from the ambitious views and cabals of lord Seymour, the protector's brother, who was married to the queen-dowager. This nobleman, who entertained the most violent jealousy of his brother, endeavoured to seduce the young prince to his party; he openly derided Somerset's administration, and had by bribery and intrigue gained over many of the nobility. Upon the death of the queen-dowager, his ambition even prompted him to pay his addresses to the lady Elizabeth, who seems not to have been averse


to the proposal. The protector, after endeavouring in vain, by gentle means, to divert him from his dangerous enterprises, at length determined, by the advice of the earl of Warwick, who inflamed the quarrel in hopes of ruining them both, to employ more severe remedies. Seymour was accordingly committed to the Tower, and, as he still refused to be reconciled to his brother, he was accused of high treason, condemned by the parliament, and soon after beheaded on Tower-hill.

The other transactions of this parliament, regarded ecclesiastical affairs, which were now become the chief object of attention throughout the nation. A new liturgy, composed by a committee of bishops and divines, was ordained to be observed in all the churches; marriage was allowed to the clergy; and the doctrine of the real presence was at last discarded. In short, the principal tenets and practices of the Catholic religion were now abolished, and the reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England. The reformers, now victorious, exercised against the Catholics the same severities from which they themselves had lately escaped. Gardiner and Bonner were committed to custody, and some others, of inferior station, suffered at the stake. The lady Mary alone was permitted to adhere to the mass, and to the ceremonies of the old religion.

1549.—The demolition of the monasteries, and the conversion of arable into pasture land, which both deprived the farmer of a market, and increased the price of provisions, occasioned great complaints among the people, and produced insurrections in several counties. In Devonshire and Norfolk, these rose to an amazing height, and were not quelled without considerable bloodshed. During these disturbances, great advantages were gained over the English garrisons which had been left in Scotland, and that kingdom was brought to some settlement and composure. Henry, the successor of Francis, had reconquered the territory which Henry VIII. had gained from France,

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and prepared to besiege Boulogne in the following spring. The protector, who had, without success, made advances for an alliance with the emperor, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but his enemies, who were glad of an opportunity to distress him, violently opposed every proposal of this nature.

Somerfet's administration had given disgust to many of the nobility and gentry; and the absolute authority with which he governed every thing since he obtained the royal patent, and the favour which he shewed to the new religion, had increased the number of his enemies. Even the people whom he courted were little attached to his cause. The execution of his brother, and the introduction of foreign troops, bore an odious aspect; the great estate which he had suddenly acquired at the expence of the church and crown, rendered him obnoxious; and a magnificent palace which he was building in the Strand, and to furnish ground and materials for which the parish church of St Mary, with three bishops houses, were pulled down, exposed him to the censure of the public. His enemies resolved to take advantage of these imprudencies; and the earls of Warwick and Southampton, with many of the principal counsellors, assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector. Somerfet, when he heard of the defection of the council, removed the king from Hampton-court, where he then resided, to Richmond, and arming his friends and servants, seemed resolute to defend himself against all his enemies. But finding that almost no man of rank adhered to him, and that the people did not rise at his summons, he made submission to his enemies, and resigned the protectorship. The parliament passed a vote, whereby he was deprived of his offices, and fined two thousand pounds a-year in land. But his fine was remitted; he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, who now bore the chief sway, thinking him sufficiently humbled, re-admitted him into the council.

1750.—Warwick

1750.—Warwick and his party found themselves involved in the same difficulties which had embarrassed the protector ; peace was made both with France and Scotland, and Boulogne was immediately restored, upon condition of receiving four hundred thousand crowns. The new regency were as zealous as the former in promoting the reformation. Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody, because he still opposed the execution of the new laws ; Day, Heathe, and Voisey, were likewise deprived of their bishoprics on pretence of disobedience ; and even some of the prelates who complied in every thing, being suspected of insincerity, were obliged to sacrifice the most considerable revenues of their sees to satisfy the rapacious courtiers. But the princess Mary remained obstinate against all the remonstrances of the council, declared herself willing to endure death rather than relinquish her religion ; and, when desired to peruse St Austin, and the other ancient doctors, she thanked God that she never had read any Protestant books, and hoped that she never would. The council, afraid of the emperor, were disposed to grant her liberty of conscience ; but they had some difficulty in overcoming the scruples of the young king, who, having deeply imbibed the Protestant notions, lamented with tears his sister's obstinacy, and bewailed his own hard fate, that he must suffer her to continue in so abominable a mode of worship. The book of common-prayer suffered a new revival, and the new speculative doctrines were reduced to forty-two articles.

1551.—Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, finding that Somerset, though degraded from his dignity, still retained great popularity, determined on the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and servants of that nobleman, whose treacherous confidants carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him, and revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested. Somerset was accordingly arrested ; and

Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted as a spy upon Somerset, accused him of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the gens d'arms on a muster day, to secure the Tower, and to raise a rebellion in London. Of these charges, the proof appears to have been very imperfect; but Somerset confessed that he had once expressed his intention, without forming any resolution, of murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was tried by a jury of twenty-seven peers, among whom were his accusers Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke. He was found guilty of felony, and condemned to be executed on Tower-hill. The spectators bore him such sincere kindness, that they entertained to the last moment the fond hopes of his pardon; many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a precious relic; and some of them soon after, when Northumberland met with the same doom, upbraided him with this cruelty, and displayed to him these symbols of his crime.

1552.—Northumberland found that the faction of Somerset still prevailed in the house of commons, for they had rejected a bill of attainder which had passed the house of peers against Tonsil bishop of Durham, and another ratifying the attainder of Somerset and his accomplices. He resolved, therefore, to dissolve the parliament which had sitten during this whole reign, and soon after to summon a new one. This parliament, which had been elected by commendatory letters from the king and council, was entirely obsequious to the will of Northumberland, divided the see of Durham into two bishoprics, and its regalities were given by the king to Northumberland. They likewise granted a supply of two subsidies, and two fifteenths; but such was the rapacity of the courtiers, that the crown still owed about 300,000 pounds.

1553.—The weak state of Edward's health made Northumberland form the most ambitious projects concerning the succession to the throne. He represented

sented to the prince, that his two sisters had been declared illegitimate by the parliament; that Mary in particular was a violent bigot to the Romish religion; that the queen of Scots was excluded by the will of the late king; and that the lawful heir to the crown was the lady Jane Gray, daughter of the marchioness of Dorset, who was elder daughter to the French queen, and the duke of Suffolk. Lady Jane Gray was married to lord Guilford Dudley, fourth son of Northumberland, and the marquis of Dorset, whose lady was content to give place to her daughters, was this season created duke of Suffolk. The reasonings and artifices of Northumberland made an impression on the young prince, and he was prevailed on to give his final consent to the settlement projected. A patent for this purpose was accordingly drawn out; and this patent, having been previously signed by all the judges, (except Sir James Hales), and all the members of the privy council, had the great seal affixed to it by the chancellor.

After this settlement was made, Edward visibly declined every day, and small hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by the advice of Northumberland; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. But his bad symptoms still increased, and he expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign. The excellent qualities of this young prince made him an object of tender affection to the public, and make us regret that a longer life was not granted to him.

CHAPTER XXIII.

M A R Y.

NORTHUMBERLAND, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king, and, in order to bring the two princesses into his power, he had engaged the council, before Edward's death, to desire their attendance in their brother's name. The lady Mary was within half a day's journey of the court when she received private intelligence from the earl of Arundel, of her brother's death, and of the conspiracy formed against her, and she immediately retired to Framlingham in Suffolk, from which she wrote letters to the nobility, and most considerable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person. The people of Suffolk hastened to pay their respects to her; and, upon their expressing apprehensions for their religion, she assured them that she never meant to change the laws of king Edward. Her party daily gathered strength, and she found herself at the head of a very considerable force.

In the mean time, Northumberland waited upon the lady Jane, who was in a great measure ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise she received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, accomplished

accomplished parts; and she was addicted to the pursuits of literature and the elegant arts. Her heart had never opened itself to the alluring prospects of ambition, and she at first refused to accept the present which was offered her. But, overcome by the intreaties of her father, and father-in-law, and above all, of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighbourhood. No applause ensued; the proclamation was heard with silence and concern; some even expressed their scorn and contempt. The progress of the lady Mary, roused Northumberland to a sense of his danger, and he advanced at the head of some forces which he had levied to oppose her. As he went along, he remarked the disaffection of the people, which foreboded a fatal issue to his ambitious hopes. "Many," said he to lord Gray, "come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries *God speed you!*" When he reached St Edmondsbury, he found himself too weak to encounter the queen, and wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a reinforcement. But the counsellors embraced the opportunity of his absence to throw off his usurped authority, and to return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. Mary was proclaimed queen, and the people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown ten days, returned to a private life with more satisfaction than she felt when the royalty was tendered to her. Northumberland himself despairing of success, and deserted by his followers, laid down his arms, and was taken into custody. His guilt was too great, and his ambition too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any hopes of life. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates suffered along with him; and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprize against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against lady Jane, and lord

Guilford, but without any present intention of putting it in execution. The youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had reached their seventeenth year, pleaded sufficiently in their favour.

Mary had imbibed the strongest attachment to the catholic communion, and the highest aversion to the reformation, whence she believed the misfortunes of her family originally sprung. Naturally of a sour and obstinate temper, she possessed all the qualities fitted to compose a bigot; and her ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubt in her own belief, or of indulgence to the opinions of others. The nation had great reason, therefore, to dread not only the abolition, but the persecution of the established religion from the zeal of Mary.

The duke of Norfolk, who had been detained in prison during all the last reign, together with Courteney, son of the marquis of Exeter, were restored to liberty. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonsal, Day, Heathe, and Voisey, were reinstated in their sees; and the queen refused to listen to the men of Suffolk, who pleaded her promise to maintain the reformed religion. Cranmer, who was obnoxious to the queen, in consequence of the hand which he had in the reformation, and in her mother's divorce, as well as for a late paper which he published against the mass, was thrown into prison, and condemned as guilty of high-treason, for the part which he had acted in concurring with the lady Jane. The execution of the sentence, however, did not follow; and Cranmer was reserved for a more cruel punishment. Peter Martyr, with many foreign protestants, seeing a storm gathering against the reformers, left the kingdom; and the nation thereby lost many useful hands for arts and manufactures.

During this revolution in the court, no protection was expected by protestants under the parliament, which was summoned to assemble. A majority of the commons were obsequious to Mary's designs, and little opposition was made by the peers, who, from interest or expectations, were mostly attached to the court. But, notwithstanding, their compliances with
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the queen's inclinations, her choice of a husband appeared of such importance to national interest, that they were determined in this article not to submit tamely to her will and pleasure. Courtney, earl of Devonshire, had gained on the queen's affections, and hints were dropped him of her favourable dispositions towards him. But he neglected these overtures, and seemed rather to attach himself to the Lady Elizabeth; which occasioned great coldness in the queen towards Devonshire, and made her break out into declared animosity against her sister.

Cardinal Pole, who had never taken priests' orders, was another party proposed to the queen; but his declining age, and habits of retirement made him be considered as unqualified for the bustle of a court, and the hurry of business. Mary, therefore, dropped all thoughts of an alliance with Pole; but she still intended to reap the benefit of his wisdom and counsels. She sent assurances to pope Julius III. of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the holy see, and desired that Pole might be appointed legate for that pious office. The last party proposed as a husband to the queen, was Philip, son and heir to the emperor. No sooner did Charles hear of Edward's death, than he immediately sent over an agent to make proposals of marriage to Mary, who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely with her mother's family, readily gave her consent. Gardiner, now chancellor and prime minister, seconded her views, but at the same time represented, that, in order to reconcile the minds of the people, it would be necessary to stop all farther innovations in religion, till the completion of the marriage; and that the conditions should be extremely favourable to the English. The emperor approved his opinion, and detained Cardinal Pole, who was more sincere in his religious principles, and less guided by maxims of human prudence, from proceeding on his journey to England. Mary's design of espousing Philip becoming generally known to the nation, the commons remonstrated in strong measures,

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against the danger of a foreign alliance; but, to prevent all farther applications of the kind, she thought proper to dissolve the parliament. The new laws with regard to religion were now more openly put in execution; the mass was every where re-established; marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office; a visitation was appointed for restoring the ancient rites; and the clergy were forbidden to take the oath of supremacy on their receiving any benefice.

1554.---This change of religion inspired the protestants with great discontent, but the Spanish match excited more general alarm. Though the conditions were as favourable to the English as possible, this moderation in the emperor was represented as merely a disguise to conceal his ambitious designs against the liberty and independence of England.

The people were prepared for a rebellion; and had any foreign power given them encouragement, or any great man appeared to head them, the consequences might have proved fatal to the queen's authority. Some who formed a conspiracy to rise in arms were defeated in their attempts. The duke of Suffolk, who endeavoured to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, was apprehended, and carried prisoner to London. Sir Thomas Wyatt, who advanced with a considerable force into the city, was deserted by his followers, and seized near Temple-bar. He was condemned and executed; and about 400 more are said to have suffered for this rebellion. The guilt of the duke of Suffolk, who was executed soon after, was imputed to the Lady Jane Gray, and to her husband. Lady Jane received the warning to prepare for death with the greatest calmness and constancy; she ably defended her religion against some catholic divines, whom the queen had sent to harass her with disputation, under colour of mercy for her soul; and such was the mildness of her disposition, that, on the scaffold, she laid all the blame on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she was treated. She was beheaded on the same day with

with her husband ; and the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, ordered the execution to take place within the verge of the Tower.

The suppression of this rebellion strengthened the queen's authority ; the prisons were loaded with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, made the objects of her suspicion ; even the lady Elisabeth was treated with great severity, and committed to custody under a strong guard at Wadestoke, because she declined a marriage which was offered her with the duke of Savoy. The parliament, which was summoned soon after, were not altogether compliant with her wishes ; and, though they ratified her marriage, they refused to pass a law proposed by Gardiner, investing the queen with a power of disposing of the crown, and of appointing her successor. They dreaded that Mary, if possessed of such a power, would make a will in her husband's favour, and thereby render England for ever a province to the Spanish monarchy. They likewise refused to pass some laws against the reformed religion, about which they were in general less scrupulous ; and the queen finding that they would not answer her purpose, dissolved them.

Mary's thoughts were now entirely employed about the receiving Don Philip ; and, with the fondness of a young lover, she waited anxiously and impatiently the moment of his arrival. News at length came that he was landed at Southampton ; a few days after, they were married in Westminster, and having made a pompous entry into London, they went to Windsor, the palace where they afterwards resided. Philip's distant and reserved behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices entertained against him by the English nation ; but it made him more acceptable to the queen, who was so fond of his company, that the shortest absence gave her uneasiness, and the smallest civilities shewed to any other woman, excited her jealousy and resentment.

Cardinal Pole having arrived in England, invited the new parliament which had lately been summoned, and which, by the zeal of the catholics, and the influence of Spanish gold, was more devoted to the queen's pleasure, to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see. This message was taken in good part; both houses professed a sincere repentance for their past defection, declared their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the church of Rome, and prayed their majesties that they would intercede with the holy father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The legate, in the name of his holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, and received them into the bosom of the church. But the parliament were not brought to make these concessions in favour of Rome, till they had received assurances that the plunder which had been made on the ecclesiastics should not be enquired into; and the law repealing former statutes against the pope, secured the right of incumbents to their benefices, and of holders of church lands to their possessions. They were more indifferent with regard to religion; they revived the sanguinary laws against heretics, and enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumours.

Philip, sensible of the aversion of the nation to the Spaniards, endeavoured to acquire popularity by releasing several prisoners of distinction; among whom were the lady Elisabeth, and the earl of Devonshire. Soon after the marriage, the queen fondly imagined herself to be pregnant; dispatches were sent to inform foreign courts of this event; public thanks were offered up, and great rejoicings were made; the catholics assured themselves that the child was to be a male; and prayers were said that heaven would please to render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. Though the infant was only the commencement of a dropsy, the belief of the queen's pregnancy was upheld with all possible care; and, in case of her demise, Philip was appointed by parliament protector during the minority.

Gardiner,

Gardiner, the prime minister, and Cardinal Pole, the two men who had most influence at court, were of very different characters. Pole was seriously persuaded of the catholic doctrines, and thought that no consideration ought ever to come in competition with such important interests. Gardiner had always made his religion subservient to his schemes of safety and advancement. But, such is the prevalence of temper over system, that the benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of those tenets which he highly blamed; while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support, by persecution, that religion which at the bottom he regarded with indifference. This circumstance of public conduct became the subject of deliberation in the council, and of discourse throughout the nation. The opinion of Gardiner, being more agreeable to the bigotry of the queen and king, prevailed: it was determined to let loose the laws in their full rigour, against the reformed religion; and a furious persecution, accompanied with every species of cruelty and horror, commenced in England, which has ever since held the Catholic religion in general detestation. Gardiner's instrument in this bloody work was Bonner, bishop of London, a man of a savage and brutal character. The persons condemned were not convicted of teaching contrary to the established religion; they were seized merely on suspicion; and articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, committed to the flames. A commission, similar to the inquisition, was appointed by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. They went farther: a proclamation was issued, declaring that whosoever had any "books of heresy, treason and sedition, and did not instantly burn them, without reading them, or shewing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels, and be executed by martial law." During the three years which this persecution lasted, it is computed, that five bishops, Hooper, Sanders, Ferrars, Ridley and Latimer, 21 clergymen, 8 lay gentlemen, 84 tradesmen,

men, 100 husbandmen, servants and labourers, 55 women, and 4 children, suffered by fire; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines and confiscations. Cranmer, the hero of the protestant party, who had long been detained in prison, shared the same fate with the rest, and submitted to the flames with the greatest constancy and cheerfulness. He was succeeded in the see of Canterbury, by Cardinal Pole.

1557.—The opposition which the queen met with in a new parliament which she assembled, shewed how odious these persecutions were to the nation. The absence of her husband, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, had gone over to Flanders, increased her bad humour; the disappointment in her pregnancy, threw her into melancholy; and she gave vent to her spleen, by persecuting the protestants, and by violently extorting money from her subjects, by whom she knew herself to be hated. Her multiplied extortions were designed to supply the demands of her husband, who, having succeeded to the dominions of Spain, by the resignation of his father, was engaged in a war with France. The queen used all her endeavours to embark England in the quarrel; and war was at length declared against that kingdom, though contrary to the inclination of the people, and the opinion of many of the counsellors. Recourse was had to the former violent expedients for obtaining money, and a fleet, with an army of 10,000 men, were sent over to the low countries. The French received a great defeat from the Spaniards and English, in the battle of St. Quintin; but this was repaired by the taking of Calais, which was effected by the duke of Guise, in the depth of winter, when all attempts against it being deemed impracticable, a great part of the garrison had been dismissed. The English, bereaved of this important fortress, murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council, who, after engaging in a fruitless war, for the sake of foreign interests, had exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace.

1558.—The

1558.—The marriage of the queen of Scots, with the Dauphin strengthened the connection between the kingdoms, and threatened very nearly the repose and security of Mary. She found it necessary to summon a parliament, which, without any censure on the late arbitrary methods of extorting money, granted her a new supply. The English, this year, made an unsuccessful attempt on Brittany; and, notwithstanding a great victory gained by the Spanish at Gravelines, a period was soon after put to the war. Philip, at first, insisted on the restoration of Calais, and its territory to England; but his connection with that kingdom being dissolved by the death of Mary, which happened during the negociation, he agreed, that it should remain in the possession of France. The increase of the queen's malady, the ill state of her affairs, the absence of her husband, so preyed upon her mind, as to throw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

This princess possessed few qualities, either estimable or amiable: her person was as little engaging as her behaviour; and obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, seem to have been the predominant features of her character.

ELISABETH

CHAPTER XXIV.

ELISABETH. 1558.

THE joy of the nation was extreme when the sceptre passed into the hands of Elifabeth: and such was the prudence and magnanimity of this young princess, that she buried all past offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who, during the former reign, had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. She had likewise the prudence to reject a proposal of marriage made her by Philip, because the nation entertained a great aversion to the Spanish alliance, and marrying Philip would have been acknowledging her own illegitimacy.

The education of Elifabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the reformation. Her title to the crown was incompatible; with her being a Catholic for the sentence pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage could not be annulled without a fatal blow to papal power. She remained not long in suspense, with regard to her religious system: she immediately recalled the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners confined for the sake of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen, that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners, called Matthew, Mark, Luke and John: She readily replied,

plied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them. These declarations of her intention, made the bishops foresee a revolution in religion; and it was with some difficulty the bishop of Carlisle could be prevailed on to officiate at her coronation.

But Elisabeth delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of parliament, which was summoned to assemble, and which she found disposed to gratify her in every request. They began with recognizing the queen's title, and then proceeded to the suppression of the lately erected monasteries, and the annexation of the supremacy to the crown. A law was likewise passed, confirming all the statutes enacted in king Edward's time, with regard to religion, which had been repealed during the reign of Mary, and thus, in one session, without violence, or tumult, was the whole religion altered, at the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a very young woman, whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections. The parliament likewise voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eightpence on moveables, together with two fifteenths; and at the conclusion of the session, they framed an address on the subject of the queen's marriage, which, though couched in the most respectful expressions, yet met with a refusal. While a private person, she observed, she had always declined that engagement; and now, when betrothed to a kingdom, and burdened with the cares of government, she would much rather persevere in that resolution.

1559—Meanwhile, the negotiations for peace with France were still carried on; and Elisabeth, sensible that some years of tranquillity were necessary to the re-establishment of her kingdom, and that Calais could never be recovered by treaty, agreed to abandon that place, and concluded a peace with Henry. But there soon appeared a new ground of quarrel, arising from Mary queen of Scots, who, upon supposition that the

that the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn was unlawful, was next heir to the English crown.

Henry determined not to neglect his daughter-in-law's claim, and ordered his son to assume openly the arms as well as title of England. When Francis II. ascended the throne, he continued to assume the title of the king of England; and the English ambassador, who complained of the injury, could obtain only an evasive answer. Elisabeth, alarmed at the danger, thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy and hatred against the queen of Scots; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland, afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the injury, and of providing for her own safety.

The new doctrines preached by that violent and bold reformer, Knox, had made great progress in Scotland; and many of the nobility and gentry had entered into an association, termed the congregation of the Lord, for the defence of the reformed religion, and the extirpation of the ancient superstition. They were now at open war with the queen Dowager; but, unable to support themselves against the succours which she had received from France, and which she expected from Germany, they applied for assistance to England. Elisabeth, sensible of the danger which threatened her own kingdom, if the French were allowed to make themselves masters of Scotland, and impelled by sympathy of religious principles, determined to support the falling fortunes of the congregation. She sent a fleet and army into Scotland; and, when the court of France offered to restore Calais, provided she would not interpose in the affairs of that kingdom, she resolutely replied, that she would never put an inconsiderable fishing town in competition with the safety of her dominions. The French, who had prepared to defend themselves in Leith, finding it impossible to subsist for want of provisions, were obliged to capitulate. A treaty was signed at Edinburgh, wherein it was stipulated that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland; that the king and queen of France and Scotland should abstain from bearing the arms,
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assuming the title of England; that the administration of Scotland should be placed, during the queen's absence, in a council of twelve; and that Mary should neither make peace nor war without the consent of the States. Before this treaty was ratified by the queen, the leaders of the congregation assembled a parliament, wherein the Catholic religion was entirely abolished, and the Presbyterian form of government, with a confession of faith, agreeable to the new doctrines, substituted in its place. The queen denied the validity of a parliament summoned without the royal consent, and refused her sanction to the statutes which they enacted. But the Protestants gave themselves little concern about this refusal; they immediately put the statutes in execution, and sought for safety in the protection of England.

1561.—This signal success, the faction which had crept into the French court, and the sudden death of Francis II. which effectually prevented the annexation of Scotland to France, all tended to give great security to Elisabeth's government. She ordered, notwithstanding, her ambassador, Throgmorton, to require a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh from the queen of Scots; and, when that princess applied for a safe conduct, in case she should be obliged to pass through England, she received for answer, that till she had given satisfaction by signing that treaty, she could expect no favour from a person whom she had so much injured. Mary made a spirited reply to this denial; and embarking at Calais, she passed an English fleet, which had been equipped to intercept her, in a fog, and arrived safely at Leith, attended by her three uncles, and other French courtiers. The transition from a refined court to the society of a people turbulent and uncivilized, and moreover soured by religious fanaticism, was by no means agreeable to a young, gay and beautiful queen, in the nineteenth year of her age. Upon her first arrival, she was received with every mark of joy and affection; but she had soon reason to regret the change which she had made. Notwithstanding her engaging manners, and
complying

complying disposition, she was still a Papist, and continued to have mass celebrated in her own chapel. This excited universal alarm, and it was asserted in the pulpit that one mass was more terrible than ten thousand armed men. The clergy, headed by Knox, treated her with the greatest contumely and insolence, and filled her whole life with bitterness and sorrow; destitute of force, possessing a narrow revenue, surrounded with a factious, turbulent nobility, a bigotted people, and insolent ecclesiastics, she soon found that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity was to preserve a good correspondence with Elizabeth.

Soon after her arrival in Scotland, secretary Lidington was sent to London, in order to pay her compliments to the queen, and express her desire of friendship and a good correspondence. But a very unseasonable request was at the same time made, that Mary should be declared successor to the crown, upon which condition she would renounce all her present pretensions. But, such was the jealous character of Elizabeth, that she would never consent to fix the succession, much less in favour of a rival queen, whose pretensions for the present were so plausible. She offered, however, to explain the words of the treaty of Edinburgh, so as to leave no suspicion of their excluding Mary's right of succession; and, though farther concessions were never made by either princess, they put on all the appearances of a cordial reconciliation and friendship with each other.

Elizabeth employed the leisure which she now possessed for the improvement and security of her kingdom, by encouraging agriculture, arts, manufactures, commerce, and navigation. Her singular felicity and renown procured her a great many suitors; but to all of them she gave a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuits, attached them to her interests, and gratified her own disposition to female coquetry. She seems indeed to have determined in her own mind never to share her power with any man, and

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even to have resolved, as far as in her lay, that no one who had any pretensions to the succession should ever have any heirs. Lady Catharine Gray, sister to lady Jane, who had been privately married, appearing to be pregnant, both of them were committed to the Tower, and their posterity declared to be illegitimate.

1562.—Philip II. of Spain, who was at the head of the Catholic party in Europe, was cool and prudent, but cruel, bigotted, and tyrannical. Finding that the new doctrines had penetrated into Spain, he let loose all the rage of persecution against those who professed them; and, induced by the bigotry of his own temper, as well as by a regard to his political interest, he determined to support the Catholic faith, in opposition to the attempts of faction and innovation. The course of events concurring with choice, had placed Elisabeth in a situation diametrically opposite, and had raised her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the support of the numerous though still persecuted Protestants throughout Europe.

France was at this time torn by the most horrible, civil, and religious wars, which have ever desolated any nation. At the head of the Catholics were the duke of Guise, the constable Montmorency, and the king of Navarrè, who having secured the possession of the person of the young king Charles IX. constrained the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, to embrace their party. Philip had likewise sent them six thousand men, and a supply of money. The prince of Condé, admiral Coligni, and Andelot, headed the Protestants, who finding themselves unable to withstand the great combination formed against them, craved the protection of Elisabeth, and offered to put Havre de Grace into the hands of the English, upon condition that the queen would send over 3000 men to garrison it, together with 3000 more for the defence of Rouen and Dieppe, and furnish the prince with a supply of 100,000 crowns. The terms were agreed to, and Elisabeth immediately sent over a body of 3000 men to take possession of Havre; the
Protestants

Protestants were soon after reinforced with an army of equal strength, and considerable remittances were made them in money.

1563.—These expences obliged Elisabeth to summon a parliament, who, in an address to the queen, intreated her, either to choose a husband, or to fix the succession in case of her demise; but Elisabeth, jealous of the queen of Scots, and sensible of the imperfect title of the house of Suffolk, would give no other but an evasive answer. The parliament passed a law, ascertaining the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions; and, after granting a supply, were prorogued.

Mean time, the assassination of the duke of Guise paved the way for a reconciliation between the contending parties in France; and a treaty was at last agreed to, which stipulated, that the Protestants should be tolerated, a general amnesty be granted, and Condé reinstated in his offices and government. With regard to Elisabeth, her charges, and the money which she had advanced, were to be paid on her relinquishing Havre, and Calais was to be restored at the expiration of the term agreed upon in the treaty with Henry II. Elisabeth, dissatisfied with these conditions, determined to keep possession of Havre as a security; but sickness attacking the garrison, and succours not arriving in due time, the place made a feeble resistance, and at last surrendered to the French arms. The hostages for the restitution of Calais were restored by Elisabeth for 220,000 crowns.

Peace still continued with Scotland; even a cordial friendship seemed to have taken place between the two queens. They had in the foregoing summer agreed to have an interview at York; but Elisabeth, jealous of the superior charms of her rival, or afraid of reviving the subject of the succession, delayed the meeting till next year. The marriage of the queen of Scots was now become an object of great importance, and a cause of inquietude to Elisabeth. Anxious, lest Mary should form any powerful foreign alliance, she always declared that nothing would satisfy her

her but her espousing some English nobleman; and she at last recommended the earl of Leicester, a son of the late duke of Northumberland, who, though destitute of virtue and abilities, had, by polite and insinuating manners, gained the favour and intimate friendship of his mistress. But Leicester was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the promise of being declared successor to the English throne, seemed to hearken to Elisabeth's proposals, this princess receded from her offers.

1564.—Elisabeth's evasions and artifices produced a coldness between the queens. Mary's subjects and counsellors thought it time that some marriage was concluded; and fixed their eyes upon Henry lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, and by his mother great grandson to Henry VII. The English queen was secretly not displeased with the projected marriage, and secretly desired Mary to invite Lenox and his son into Scotland. But, no sooner did she learn that Darnley's person was agreeable to the queen of Scots, and that all measures were fixed for espousing him, than she exclaimed against the marriage, ordered Darnley to return into England, threw the countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, seized Lenox's English estate, menaced and complained as if she had suffered the most grievous injury. This conduct, apparently so unaccountable, but at bottom so full of duplicity and artifice, served her as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, and for encouraging the discontents and rebellion of the Scottish nobility and ecclesiastics.

1565.—The queen's marriage with Darnley, the consequent aggrandizement of Lenox's family and party, and Mary's unshaken attachment to the catholic faith gave, offence to several of the Scottish nobility, among whom were the duke of Chatelrault, the earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, Glencairne, &c. The malecontents having received secret promises of support from Elisabeth, and even a supply of money, fled to Stirling, where, under a pretence of zeal for religion, they formed the resolution of taking up arms against
their

their sovereign. The queen advanced against them with an army, which they were unable to resist; and, finding the nation not disposed for a rebellion, they were obliged to take shelter in England. Elisabeth, when she found the event to disappoint her expectation, thought proper, with her usual duplicity, to disavow all connections with the malecontents, and to declare every where that she had never given them any encouragement, nor any promise of countenance or assistance. The banished lords were thus obliged to have recourse to the clemency of their own sovereign, whose natural temper inclined her not to severity; but, by the advice of her uncle the cardinal of Lorraine, she determined on the total ruin of men so celebrated for their zeal against the catholic faith; and it was only by a sudden and violent incident that they were saved from the rigour of the law.

1566.---Mary was at first pleased with Darnley's person and figure; and, in the first effusions of her fondness, she had exalted him beyond measure; but, having leisure afterwards to perceive his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve. His resentment against this prudent conduct increased her disgust; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her manners and behaviour. He entered into a conspiracy with some of the nobility against one Rizzio, an Italian, who, by insinuation and address, had gained an extraordinary share of Mary's friendship and confidence, and whom Henry considered as the cause of her coldness towards him; and that favourite was basely assassinated as he sat at supper with the queen. The banished lords, whom the king had invited to return, appeared in two days after. Mary, whose anger was engrossed by injuries more recent and violent, was easily reconciled to them; and they were reinstated in their honours and fortunes. The queen, at the intercession of the earl of Bothwell,

a new favourite, was even pacified towards the assassins; but her resentment was implacable against her husband; and his conduct having exposed him to universal contempt, she threw him off with disdain and indignation. She soon after brought forth a son; and intelligence of this event was immediately sent to Elisabeth, who dispatched the earl of Bedford, with her kinsman George Cary, to officiate at the baptism of the young prince.

The birth of a son increased the number of Mary's partizans in England. The subject of the succession was taken up in parliament; and, though the courtiers endeavoured to elude the blow, by affirming that they heard the queen positively declare her intention to marry, yet such was the spirit of the house, that Elisabeth was obliged to send them peremptory orders to proceed no farther in the matter; and at last dissolved them, with strong marks of anger. Many of the English Catholics kept a correspondence with Mary; and the court itself of Elisabeth was full of her avowed partizans. But all these prospects were blasted by the indiscretions, or perhaps crimes, of her future life, which threw her from the height of prosperity, and involved her in infamy and ruin.

1567.—Mary's aversion to her husband continued undiminished; her attachment to Bothwell daily increased; reports were even spread of particular intimacies between them; and the suspicions against her were carried so far, that an illness, with which Henry was seized at Glasgow, whither he had retired, was universally ascribed to poison. To the surprise of all, a friendship seemed to be again conciliated between them; the queen paid her husband a visit during his sickness, and brought him along with her to Edinburgh; but, lest the noise and bustle of the court might disturb him in his present infirm state of health, an apartment was fitted up for him in a solitary house at some distance. At two o'clock in the morning of the tenth of February, this house was blown up by gun-powder, and the king's body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field. Suspicions immediately

diately fell on the earl of Bothwel; and the earl of Lenox, in a letter to the queen, pointed out him and several others as perpetrators of the crime. But the power and violence of Bothwel, together with his great favour with the queen, intimidated Lenox from appearing; the trial was conducted with the most shameful precipitation; and, without accusers or witnesses, a verdict was pronounced, absolving Bothwel from the king's murder. Another transaction which followed was equally infamous, and was no proof of Bothwel's innocence. This was an association of the nobility, procured by the interest of Bothwel, in which they engaged to defend that nobleman with their whole power against all his calumniators, and recommended him as a proper husband to the queen; a recommendation which plainly shews that they considered this event as entirely agreeable to the queen's wishes. Mary having soon after gone to Stirling, was, on her return, seized by Bothwel, and carried to the castle of Dunbar. It was strongly suspected that this did not happen without Mary's connivance; and, when some of the nobility privately offered to rescue her, she answered, that, since her arrival, she had been so well treated, that she willingly remained with Bothwel. A few days after, that nobleman received a pardon for the violence committed on the queen's person, and for *all other crimes*; a divorce from his former wife was procured; the infatuated queen, who had appeared in Edinburgh, and declared before the courts of judicature that she was restored to perfect freedom, rushed forward to her manifest destruction; and, regardless of the opposition of the court of France, and the remonstrances of Elisabeth, determined on the solemnization of her marriage with Bothwel.

These transactions filled all men, both at home and abroad, with astonishment and horror. Mary's conduct was universally condemned; there appeared in it something more than imprudence; and the suspicions formerly started, of her being concerned in the murder of her husband, received additional confirmation.

tion. An attempt which Bothwel made to get possession of the person of the young prince, excited the most serious attention; and the principal nobility formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the king's murderers. The armies of the confederates, and of the queen, met at Carberry; but Mary, finding that her troops disapproved of her cause, put herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the nobility; Bothwel escaped beyond seas, where he died in great misery; several of his servants who were taken, discovered the circumstances of the king's murder, and were punished for the crime.

The enraged faction committed the queen prisoner to Lochleven castle, where all access to her was refused to the English ambassador, whom Elisabeth, touched with compassion, had sent to interpose between her and her rebellious subjects, and to propose her restoration to liberty, and to her former authority, but under strict limitations. The ruling party, however, though threatened with immediate vengeance in case of a refusal, determined on the deposition of Mary; and three instruments were sent her; by one of which, she was to resign the crown in favour of her son; by another, to appoint the earl of Murray, her illegitimate brother, regent; and by the third, to name a council, which, Murray being absent in France, should administer the government till his arrival in Scotland. Mary, after shedding a flood of tears, was prevailed on to sign these three instruments, without inspecting anyone of them; and, in consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king by the name of James VI. Murray soon arrived to take possession of his high office; and, by his vigour and abilities, in a short time reduced the kingdom to submission. A considerable party, however, still adhered to Mary; several of the discontented associates deserted to the same side; and compassion for the situation of that unfortunate princess induced many to espouse her cause.

1568.—Meanwhile Mary contrived to make her escape from confinement, and hastened to join her friends

friends at Hamilton, where she found herself at the head of 6000 men. Elisabeth, hearing of this event, offered both her good offices, and the assistance of her forces; but, apprehending the entrance of French forces into the kingdom, she desired that Mary would refer the controversy between her and her subjects to her arbitration. Elisabeth had not leisure to exert fully her efforts in Mary's favour, when the regent, having assembled his forces, gained a complete victory over the queen's party at Langside near Glasgow; and that unhappy princess, flying southwards from the field of battle with the greatest precipitation, took shelter in England. She immediately dispatched a messenger to London, notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elisabeth, and craving her protection.

Elisabeth's generosity now gave place to views of policy, and, swayed by the reasonings of her secretary, Cecil, she determined to give no aid to the queen of Scots, nor admit her into her presence, before she should justify herself from the imputation of having been concerned in the murder of her husband. The necessity of Mary's situation extorted from her a declaration that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all accusations, and would submit her cause to Elisabeth's arbitration. A message being likewise sent to Murray, requiring him to desist from the farther prosecution of the queen's party, and send some persons to London to justify his conduct; he answered, that he would himself take a journey to England, attended by other commissioners, and would willingly submit his cause to the determination of Elisabeth. Whatever was the event of this trial, Elisabeth would be a gainer. If Mary's crimes were ascertained by undoubted proof, she could for ever blast the reputation of that princess, or detain her for ever a prisoner in England; if the evidence fell short of conviction, it was intended to restore her to the throne, but with such strict limitations, as would leave Elisabeth perpetual arbiter of all differences between
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the parties in Scotland, and render her in fact absolute mistress of the kingdom.

The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, were appointed commissioners for the examination of this great cause; and York was the place of conference. Mary, who had first been lodged in the castle of Carlisle, under the care of lord Scrope, and afterwards removed to Bolton, a seat of that nobleman's in Yorkshire, was unbroken by her misfortunes; and sensible that her royal dignity would be diminished by submitting to a contest with her rebellious subjects before a foreign prince, began to repent of her former concessions. She demanded, therefore, present aid from England, or liberty to pass over to France; and it required all the artifices of Elisabeth, who declared that she examined the cause not as an arbiter, but as a friend anxious for her justification and the punishment of her subjects, to make her persevere in the agreement which she had made. Her commissioners gave in a complaint concerning the injuries which she had received from her subjects since her marriage with Bothwel; and the regent, apprehensive that the English court intended, in whatever light Mary's conduct should appear, to restore her to the throne, and afraid to exasperate his mistress to the utmost against him, by producing the most violent charges against her, made at first a very feeble defence.

He communicated his scruples to the English commissioners, who, notwithstanding Norfolk's inclination to favour Mary, were obliged to transmit them to Elisabeth; and that princess finding that they pointed to something more favourable to her views, with regard to the queen of Scots, than she had hitherto expected, ordered her commissioners to come to London, and encouraged the regent to bring the matter to full light. Murray proceeded to accuse Mary, in plain terms, of participation and consent in the assassination of her husband. When this charge was transmitted to Mary's commissioners, they declared that they had orders from their mistress to re-

turn no answer to what might touch her honour, and required that she should be admitted to Elisabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she would justify her innocence. The necessary consequence of this refusal, which appeared a presumption against Mary, was the breaking up of the conferences. But her enemies still desired to have in their hands the proofs of her guilt; they sent for Murray, and reproving him for the atrocious attempts which he had thrown upon his sovereign, demanded what he could say in his own justification. He produced a casket, which, he said, belonged to Bothwel, which had been intercepted by the earl of Morton, and which contained love-letters and sonnets of her's to Bothwel, written in her own hand, and two papers, one written, another subscribed by her, each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwel, made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman. The whole contained unequivocal proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwel, of her consent to the murder of the king, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwel pretended to commit upon her; Murray supported this evidence by the testimony of correspondent facts. But to the authenticity of these papers many powerful objections have been made; and consequently, whatever we may think of Mary's prudence in the foregoing transactions, the evidence of her guilt is still far from being incontestible. The conferences being ended, the Scotch commissioners returned to their own country; and Murray received from Elisabeth a loan of 5000*l.* to defray the expenses of his journey. Mary renewed her request of a personal interview with the queen, which was refused, as well as permission to retire into France. Elisabeth, though she avoided breaking openly with the queen of Scots, and always kept her in hopes of an accommodation, secretly resolved still to detain her a captive. She was removed from Bolton, a place surrounded with Catholics, to Turbury in the county of Stafford, and committed to the care of the earl of Shrewsbury.

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The term fixed for the restitution of Calais being expired, Elisabeth sent an ambassador to the French court, requiring them to restore that fortress; but, on pretence that the English had violated the treaty by committing hostilities on France, the demand, as Elisabeth had expected, was refused.

About this time the Puritans began to make considerable progress in England. This sect, which carried to the utmost extremity their opposition against the church of Rome, were violent enemies to all ceremonies, rites, and forms in religion, which they considered as a restraint upon their zeal and devotion; and they even harboured a secret antipathy to the liturgy and hierarchy themselves. Their political speculations were equally favourable to principles of civil liberty; and they inculcated the doctrine of resisting, or restraining princes. On these accounts, though secretly countenanced by some of the queen's most favoured ministers, they were extremely obnoxious to Elisabeth, who thought that the reformation had already gone too far in shaking off forms and observances, and who carried the royal prerogative as high as any of her predecessors, and higher than any of her successors.

1569 — The duke of Norfolk was the first subject in England, and, being a widower, his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared so natural, that it had occurred to several of his friends, and to those of that princess. But the first person who opened the scheme to the duke, as well as to Mary, by means of Sir James Melvil, was the earl of Murray, before his departure for Scotland, whereby he procured a safe passage through England, and a cessation of hostilities with Mary's partizans in the former kingdom. Norfolk considered the consent of Elisabeth as a requisite condition for finishing the alliance; but, afraid of a refusal, he durst not open to her his intentions. He previously attempted to gain the approbation of the most considerable nobility; and a letter was written to Mary by Leicester, and signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for a husband.

The kings of France and Spain were privately consulted, and expressed their approbation. So extensive a conspiracy could not escape the vigilance of Elizabeth and her secretary Cecil, the ablest of her ministers, and the most attached to her interests and opinions. Intelligence was given them, first by Leicester, then by Murray; the duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower; Mary was removed to Coventry, and guarded more strictly.

An insurrection soon after broke out in the north, headed by the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, the leaders of the Catholic party, who had communicated their designs to Mary and her ministers; and who, having entered into a correspondence with the governor of the Low Countries, had obtained from him a promise of assistance. Their forces amounted to 4000 foot, and 1600 horse; but Elizabeth, vigorous in her own defence, and supported by the good-will of her subjects, sent against them a much more powerful force, and the insurgents dispersed without striking a blow. The leaders fled into Scotland; Northumberland was found skulking in that country, and committed by Murray to Lochlevin castle; Westmoreland received shelter from the chieftains of the Kers and Scots. The duke of Norfolk, though in confinement, promoted as far as he could the levies for the queen, who was so well pleased with his behaviour, that, having exacted a promise from him to proceed no farther in his negotiations with Mary, she released him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own house.

The detention of Mary was a measure attended with great danger; her partizans became every day more zealous for her deliverance. But Elizabeth preferred it to the danger of allowing her to seek relief in Catholic countries; she determined, by every prudent expedient, to guard against the mischiefs to which it was exposed. Professions and promises were daily made to Mary, and were returned by professions equally insincere; an appearance of friendship was maintained on both sides; but the animosity and jealousy

jealousy, which had long prevailed between them, always became more inveterate and incurable.

1570.—The assassination of Murray the regent threw Scotland into confusion. To check the progress of Mary's party, an army was sent to the north, under pretence of chastising the borderers, but in reality with a design to give assistance and encouragement to the queen's enemies. Lenox was elected regent; and Elisabeth sent a resident to maintain a correspondence with him. She was cautious, however, not to declare openly against Mary; and the better to amuse her with hopes of an accommodation, she made a proposal of restoring her to her throne, upon certain conditions, the chief of which were, that Mary should marry no Englishman without the consent of Elisabeth, nor any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland, and that the young prince should be sent into England, to be educated there. The necessity of Mary's affairs obliged her to accept them; and it was also agreed that commissioners should be sent by Lenox to treat of an accommodation with the queen of Scots, under Elisabeth's mediation. But Elisabeth's insincerity soon appeared; for, when the Scotch commissioners declared that they had no power to treat of things which might infringe the title of their young king, she dismissed them with injunctions to return after having procured ampler powers. This pretence for a delay opened Mary's eyes concerning the ambiguous conduct of her rival; and, finding all her hopes eluded, she was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security.

1571.—In a parliament which was now summoned, after an interval of five years, a spirit of liberty began to manifest itself, which was carefully repressed by this arbitrary princess. They were enjoined, at the beginning of the session, not to meddle with any matters of state; and one Strickland, having, as was thought, derogated from the prerogative of the queen, as supreme head of the church, by exhibiting

a bill for the amendment of the liturgy, was called before the council, and prohibited from thenceforth appearing in the house of commons. Several members complained of this as an infringement on the privileges of the house; and Elisabeth, finding that her proceedings would occasion a great ferment, sent next day to Striand her permission to give attendance in parliament. Another member, who moved for a bill against an exclusive patent, was likewise severely reprimanded by the council; and the bill had no effect. These arbitrary proceedings, though to us they appear extraordinary, were agreeable to the character of Elisabeth, and the circumstances and opinions of the times. Several laws favourable to the prerogative were passed this session; and a statute, plainly levelled against the queen of Scots, was enacted, declaring it unlawful to maintain that any person, except the queen's *natural* issue, is or ought to be her heir or successor. A supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was likewise granted by parliament. Tho' Elisabeth possessed unlimited authority over her parliament and people, she was still kept in great anxiety; and the disturbances in France, Scotland, and the Low Countries, though in one point of view they seemed to give her security, yet reminded her that she was exposed to the same danger by the intestine discord and religious differences of her own country.

The civil wars, which had anew broke out in France, were concluded in 1750, by an accommodation, whereby a pardon was granted the Hugonots for all past offences, and the edicts were renewed for liberty of conscience. But this accommodation was not sincere on the part of the Catholics, and was only a snare, whereby Charles projected to extirpate at once all his enemies. To lull the Protestants in security, he affected to enter into close connections with Elisabeth, the head of that party, and even offered her his brother, the duke of Anjou, in marriage. Negotiations were entered into on the subject; but both parties being insincere in their professions, they were at last broken off.

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The bigotry and tyranny of Philip had excited violent commotions and disorders in the low countries, and the duke of Alva, a great soldier, who transferred into all government the severe discipline of a camp, was sent from Italy, with a body of veteran Spaniards, to keep in awe the rebellious Flemings. The cruelties of Alva obliged many to leave their country; and meeting with protection in England, they introduced some useful manufactures formerly unknown in that kingdom. Elisabeth not only protected the exiles, but she also gave a severe blow to the duke of Alva, by seizing as a loan 400,000 crowns, which some Genoese merchants were transporting into Flanders, the vessels having it on board being forced to take shelter in Plymouth and Southampton, from some privateers equipped by the French Hugonots. Alva sustained an irreparable loss by the want of this timely supply; and, in order to revenge the insult, he determined to support the cause and pretensions of the queen of Scots. A plan was laid for subverting the government by a foreign invasion, and a domestic insurrection. Mary, despairing of ever recovering her authority, or even liberty by pacific measures, willingly gave her concurrence. Norfolk, who had opened anew his correspondence with this princess, assented to the plan; which was, that Alva should transport 6000 foot and 4000 horse into England; should land them at Harwich, where Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose upon her. A trifling incident having led the queen and Cecil, now Lord Burleigh, to entertain some suspicions of this conspiracy, Norfolk's servants were seized, examined, and compelled by torture to confess the whole truth. Norfolk was condemned by a jury of twenty-five peers; but the queen still hesitated about his execution; twice she signed the warrant, and twice revoked the fatal sentence; and, though pushed to rigour by her ministers, Elisabeth would not consent to his execution, till after

four months hesitation, and after the sanction of parliament had been obtained.

The parliament was so enraged at Mary, who was either the occasion or cause of all these disturbances, that the commons made a direct application for her immediate trial and execution. But Elizabeth would not carry matters to such extremities, and only sent some of her counsellors to expostulate with her, and to demand satisfaction. She thought it necessary, however, to confine her more strictly, and to follow maxims very different from those which she had hitherto pursued in the management of Scotland. She accordingly gave such effectual assistance to the earl of Morton, who had been chosen regent after the death of Marre, the successor of Lenox, that the kingdom submitted entirely to his authority, and during a long time gave no further inquietude to Elizabeth.

An alliance had been entered into with France; but the dreadful massacre of Paris, the result of that conspiracy which had been formed for the extermination of the protestants, shewed her the dangerous situation wherein, as their head and protectress, she was placed. She had good reason to be apprehensive of the united counsels of Philip and Charles; they now avowed the most entire friendship, and were in strict confederacy with the queen of Scots, the pretender to her throne, who possessed numerous and zealous partizans in the heart of the kingdom. Though she found it prudent not to reject all commerce with the French monarch, she prepared herself for that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists, by putting her fleet in order, exercising her militia, and conciliating the affections of her subjects. She likewise supported secretly the French protestants, who, under the conduct of the King of Navarre, were still formidable to their enemies; and she considered her interests to be essentially connected with the suppression of the house of Guise, the leaders of the league or catholic party.

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The same political views which engaged Elisabeth to support the Hugonots, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip kept her in awe, and obliged her to preserve some terms with that monarch. In 1575, she received an embassy from the Hollanders, who, under William Prince of Orange, were making a noble but unequal struggle for their liberty, against the whole force of the Spanish Monarchy, offering her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces, if she would exert herself in their defence. But, as this would have involved her in an open war with Philip, and, having once taken up the cause of the states, she could not in honour abandon it. However desperate and prejudicial to her interest, she refused in positive terms the sovereignty proffered her. The Hollanders being afterwards joined in their opposition to Spain by the rest of the provinces in the Netherlands, and a prospect appearing of their making a vigorous resistance, Elisabeth at length determined to embrace the protection of their liberties. She was further induced to form this resolution, that she might prevent them from throwing themselves into the arms of France, and might disappoint the ambition of Don John of Austria, who had projected to espouse the queen of Scots, and to acquire in her right the dominion of the British kingdoms. In 1578, therefore, she concluded a treaty with the states, in which she stipulated to give them a loan of 100,000*l.*, and to assist them with 5000 foot, and 1000 horse, at the charge of the Flemings. Her commander was to be admitted into the council of the states; nothing was to be determined concerning war or peace without her knowledge; disputes among themselves were to be referred to her; and she was to be assisted with an equal army in case of being attacked.

While almost all Europe was in commotion, England, during several years, enjoyed profound tranquillity. The bull issued by the Pope in 1571, excommunicating Elisabeth, had increased the vigilance and severity

severity of the government against the Catholics; but still they could not justly complain of violence or persecution. The Puritans, over whom she appeared more anxious to keep a strict hand, received protection from some of her most considerable courtiers; and the puritanical spirit again appeared in a parliament which was held during this period. The prudence and wisdom of the queen's administration, together with her frugality, endeared her to her subjects, and rendered her formidable to her enemies.

But dangers multiplied on every hand, and that vigilance and attention from which the greatest security had not exempted her, became every day more necessary. Her influence over the Scottish councils was greatly diminished by the intrigues of the count d' Aubigny, afterwards earl of Lenox, who, having acquired the young King's favour, endeavoured to divert him from the English interest. Morton, the head of her party, was, notwithstanding her intercession, condemned and executed as an accomplice in the late king's murder. She was the more anxious about Scotland, because it afforded her enemies a safe and easy method of attacking her kingdom; and the injuries which Philip king of Spain both committed and received taught her daily to expect a rupture with that monarch. Philip had sent, in the Pope's name, a body of Spaniards, to assist some malecontents in Ireland; and when complaints were made of this invasion, they were answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Sir Francis Drake; this bold seaman, the first Englishman who sailed round the globe, having passed through the straits of Magellan, into the Pacific Ocean, took many rich prizes from the Spaniards in those parts, and returned home by the East Indies, loaded with booty. Elizabeth, allured by a hope of sharing in the plunder, and admiring his valour, loaded him with honours upon his return. At the remonstrance of the Spanish ambassador, she restored part of the booty; but finding that Philip had seized the money for his own use, she refused to make any more restitutions.

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1581.—The parliament, which was held this year was instigated by the treasonable practices of the catholic priests, and by the zealous exertions of the Jesuits, to pass some severe laws against the English papists, who continued to give her alarm during her whole reign. The duke of Alençon, who, after his brother's accession to the French throne, by the title of Henry III. was created duke of Anjou, had formerly made proposals of marriage to Elisabeth. This young prince, who secretly paid the queen a visit at Greenwich, seems to have made an impression on her heart; negotiations concerning the intended marriage were opened up, and the articles were soon settled between the commissioners of the French and English courts. The duke of Anjou being chosen by the states governor of the Netherlands, received a present from Elisabeth of 100,000 crowns; and, when his army went into winter-quarters, he came over to England to prosecute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with led him to think that Elisabeth had finally determined to make choice of him for a husband. On the anniversary of her coronation, after long and intimate discourse with him, she took a ring from her finger, and put it on his; from which the spectators concluded that she had given him a promise of marriage; and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. But, notwithstanding her attachment to the duke, the remonstrances of her wisest counsellors, and her own settled habits of prudence and ambition, at last prevailed over that fond passion, which, even in her 49th year, she had conceived for that prince. Having sent for Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her, threw away the ring which she had given him, and uttered many curses on the mutability of women, and of islanders.

1582.—A revolution, favourable to the interests of Elisabeth, soon after happened in Scotland. A party of the nobles, probably with the concurrence of that princess,

princess, seized the king's person at Ruthven, dismissed the earls of Lenox, Arran, and all the present counsellors, and procured a ratification of their proceedings from the assembly of the church, and a convention of the estates. Mary, affected with the detention of her son, wrote a pathetic letter to Elisabeth, complaining of the hardships of her confinement, and craving her assistance for her own and her son's liberty. Convinced that Elizabeth would never agree to restore her to power, and age and infirmities having suppressed her views of ambition, she moderated her requests, and proposed that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown of Scotland, but that the administration should remain solely in him. She was content to live in England in a private station, but with a little more liberty than she had for several years enjoyed. Elisabeth secretly determined to deny these requests; but she threw all the odium on the privy council of Scotland, who being her creatures, refused to enter into a proposed negotiation for Mary's liberty, and her association with her son in the title to the crown.

1584.—About this time several conspiracies against the queen's government, and even life, were detected, and the conspirators punished. As these plots were imputed to the intrigues of Mary, and of the catholics, her zealous partizans, the confinement of that princess, who was committed to the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury, was rendered more strict; and the popish religion, which had formerly been connived at, was now totally suppressed by act of parliament. The commons, a majority of whom were puritans, applied for a farther reformation in religion; but, afraid of offending the queen, they only presented a humble petition for this purpose to the house of lords. The chief thing complained of in this petition was the court of ecclesiastical commission, consisting of twenty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were ecclesiastics, and three made a quorum. They were empowered to try errors, heresies, &c.; their jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom, and was

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liable to no controul from the courts of law. They were directed to make enquiry by every method which they could devise ; and they had an unlimited power of punishing by fine and imprisonment. In a word, this court was a real *inquisition*, attended with all the iniquities, as well as cruelties, inseparable from that tribunal. At the end of the session, however, the queen reproved them for their presumption, and told them, that he who found fault with the church threw slander on her, who was appointed by God its supreme ruler.

The assassination of the prince of Orange, the great protector of the states of Holland, the great progress of the Spanish arms, and the rejection of an application to the king of France, compelled them anew to make an offer to Elisabeth, of acknowledging her for their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Foreseeing that the acceptance of their sovereignty would oblige her to employ her whole force in their defence, would give umbrage to her neighbours, and would expose her to the reproach of ambition and usurpation, she immediately rejected this offer. She entered, however, into a league with the states, and sent over to their assistance 6000 men, under the command of the earl of Leicester, on whom they conferred the title of governor, and captain-general of the United Provinces. But this step gave great offence to Elisabeth, who was displeased with the artifice of the states, and the ambition of Leicester.

1586.—The assistance which Elisabeth gave the states rendered a breach with Philip inevitable ; and she determined to attack him in America, where he was most vulnerable, and which was the great source of his riches. An expedition under Sir Francis Drake, who had been successful in several attempts against the Spanish settlements, roused the spirit of the nation, and excited them to new enterprizes. Leicester was not equally successful in the Low Countries ; he possessed neither courage nor abilities equal to the trust reposed in him ; and the states being discontented with his management of the war, he departed soon after

ter for England. The campaign in Holland was distinguished by the loss of Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most accomplished gentlemen who have appeared in any age. The following instance of his humanity deserves our admiration: While he lay on the field of battle, mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but, observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said *This man's necessity is still greater than mine*; and resigned to him the bottle of water. Elisabeth, for her greater security against attempts from abroad, was careful to maintain her connections with Scotland; and entered into a league with her kinsman James, by which they mutually agreed to assist each other in case of an invasion.

The severe treatment which the queen of Scots had experienced from Elisabeth had irritated her extremely against that princess, and at length engaged her in enterprises, which afforded her enemies a reason for effecting her ruin. The persecutions exercised against the catholics had inflamed them with the highest animosity against the queen; and a conspiracy was at once formed for an assassination of the queen, an insurrection, and a foreign invasion. The chiefs of this conspiracy were John Ballard, a priest of the seminary for the English catholics at Rheims, who had come over to England in the disguise of a soldier, and under the assumed name of Captain Fortescue, and Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of good family and fortune, who had been employed in the service of the queen of Scots. These procured six others, who readily undertook to assassinate Elisabeth. Mary was to be restored to liberty, and, by the assistance of the catholics, who would fly to arms whenever they heard of her delivery, and of the foreign succours which they expected she was to be established on the throne of England. Babington contrived to inform that princess of the plot; she highly approved of the design, and promised the conspirators every reward in her power. But the whole was revealed to Walsingham, the secretary, by Gifford a catholic priest, who had been employed

employed to manage the correspondence with Mary, but who betrayed the letters entrusted to his care. After the names and intention of the conspirators were fully discovered, they were immediately apprehended and thrown into prison. Fourteen were condemned and executed; seven of them acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted on evidence.

Mary remained ignorant of the discovery of the conspirators, till informed of it by the orders of Elisabeth. She was removed from the present place of her confinement to Fotheringay castle, in the county of Northampton. Her two secretaries were arrested; all her papers were seized, and sent up to the council. By the advice of a majority of the ministers, measures were taken for her trial; and, in terms of an act passed the former session of parliament, forty commissioners were appointed to examine and pass sentence on Mary. The commissioners met at Fotheringay castle, and sent messengers to inform Mary of the approaching trial. She replied, that she was an absolute independent princess, and would not degrade herself so far as to submit to a trial and examination before subjects. But, being persuaded by the reasoning of the courtiers, particularly Sir Christopher Hatton, to answer before the court, the crown lawyers proceeded to open the charge against her. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed herself to be treated as queen of England; that she had promised to transfer to Philip her right to that kingdom, if her son should refuse to be converted to the catholic faith; and that she had concurred in the design of assassinating Elisabeth. This part of the charge she positively denied; but it was supported by the evidence of Nau and Curle her secretaries, by the confession of Babington, and by other concomitant circumstances. The commissioners having finished the trial, adjourned from Fotheringay castle, and met in the Star chamber at London, where they pronounced sentence of death against the queen of Scots.

The wishes of Elisabeth with regard to a rival, whom she dreaded and hated, were now fulfilled; but
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the odious colours in which her conduct would appear to her neighbours and to posterity, prevented her from instantly gratifying her revenge. The parliament which she summoned on this occasion ratified the sentence of the commissioners, and applied for its immediate publication and execution. The queen returned an ambiguous and irresolute answer; she desired them to reconsider the affair, and think whether no other expedient, except the death of the queen of Scots, could be devised for securing the public tranquillity. The parliament could find no other expedient; they renewed their solicitations and arguments. Elisabeth complained of her unfortunate situation; and so well knew she how to dissemble, that the committee of parliament were, after all this deliberation, uncertain what would be her final resolution. She determined, however, to publish the sentence, and to notify it to the queen of Scots. Mary was not dismayed at the intelligence; she wrote her last letter to Elisabeth, wherein she preferred no petition for averting her fate, but requested that she would allow her body to be conveyed to France, there to repose in a catholic land, with the sacred reliques of her mother; that her execution might be public, and attended with her ancient servants; and that these servants might afterwards be allowed to depart whethersoever they pleased, and might enjoy those legacies which she would bequeath them.

In the mean time, applications in behalf of Mary were made to Elisabeth by foreign courts. James wrote her a letter, remonstrating, in severe terms, against her procedure; declaring, that it was impossible to remain any longer in correspondence with one, who, without any pretence of legal authority, had inflicted an ignominious death upon his parent; and threatening to use every effort, and endure every hazard, in order to revenge so great an indignity. Elisabeth, was, at first, offended at these sharp applications, and replied in a like strain; but, when she reflected, that this earnestness was no more than what duty required, she was at last pacified. It was the
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interest of Elisabeth's ministers, who were extremely obnoxious to the queen of Scots, to get rid of her as soon as possible; and they constantly plied their mistress with arguments to that effect. At length, as much delay having interposed, and as much reluctance having been displayed, as decency required, she determined to put the sentence in execution. She ordered Davison, lately made secretary, to draw up the warrant, and, after she had signed it, to carry it to the chancellor, in order to get the great seal appended to it. Next day, she recalled her order; and, when told, that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed somewhat moved, and blamed Davison for his precipitation. Davison laid the whole transaction before the council, who advised him to send off the warrant, and promised, if the queen should be displeased, to take the whole blame on themselves.

1587. Feb. 7.—The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, who were ordered to see the sentence executed, came to Fotheringay, informed Mary of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She was nowise terrified, though somewhat surprised with this intelligence. She requested permission for her confessor to attend her; but they told her that compliance with this demand was contrary to their conscience, and that Dr Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, should be present to instruct her in the true religion. As she refused to have any conference with this divine, the zealous earl of Kent bluntly told her that her death would be the life of their religion, as her life would have been the death of it. She supped sparingly, as usual; and her wonted cheerfulness did not desert her even on this occasion. She called in her servants, to whom she bequeathed legacies, and gave commendatory letters to the French king, and the duke of Guise. An exchange of mutual forgiveness, and a plentiful effusion of tears, attended this last solemn farewell. At her wonted time she went to bed; slept some hours; and then rising, spent the rest of

of the night in prayer. In the morning, the sheriff of the county entered the room, and told her that the hour was come: she replied that she was ready. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here too she took an affecting farewell of her steward, Sir Andrew Melvil. She requested of the nobleman who attended her, that some of her servants might be allowed to be present at her death. The Earl of Kent opposed this desire. Mary, whose mind was fortified against the terrors of death, was affected by this indignity: "I am the cousin of your queen," said she, "and descended from the blood-royal of Henry VII., and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland." She was at length allowed to carry some of them along with her. She then passed into another hall, and saw with an undimmed countenance the scaffold covered with black, the executioner, and all the preparations for death. The room was crowded with spectators. Here she had the mortification to be obliged to submit to the lectures and exhortations of the dean of Peterborough, who endeavoured to convert her; but she again and again interrupted the preacher, with declaring that she was born a Roman Catholic, in this religion she had lived, and in this religion she was resolved to die. She now began, with the aid of her woman, to disrobe herself: she laid her head on the block, without fear or trepidation; and it was severed from her body at two strokes. The executioner instantly held it up to the spectators; the dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The Earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen."—Thus perished, in the 45th year of her life, and 19th of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots, a woman of great accomplishments, both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired, but unfortunate in her life, and, during one period, very unhappy in her conduct.

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she affected the utmost surprise, indignation, and

sorrow

sorrow. She wrote a letter to James, expressing her grief for the lamentable accident which, had happened without her knowledge, much less concurrence. In order the better to appease James, Davison was tried in the Star-chamber, for his misdemeanor, and condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of 10,000*l*. But Elisabeth's dissimulation was too gross to deceive any body: James was filled with resentment, refused to see her ambassador, recalled his own from England, and breathed nothing but vengeance. The states of Scotland took part in his anger, and many of his nobility instigated him to arms. To prevent the dangerous consequences of these counsels, Elisabeth used every method to pacify him, and set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her. Views of interest at last prevailed over resentment; and this peaceable and unambitious prince gradually fell into a good correspondence with the court of England.

Elisabeth, hearing that Philip was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her, sent against him Sir Francis Drake, who, by intercepting his supplies, pillaging his coasts, and destroying his shipping, retarded the intended expedition against England; and the queen had thereby leisure to take more secure measures against this formidable invasion. The campaign in the Low Countries was so unsuccessful, and the conduct of Leicester so disagreeable to the States, that Elisabeth recalled her favourite, and ordered him to resign his government. Prince Maurice, son to the Prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years or age, was elected governor in his stead; and lord Willoughby was appointed to command the English forces.

1588.—Meanwhile Elisabeth received accounts from all quarters of the vast preparations for the invasion of England making by Philip, who considered the conquest of that kingdom as insuring the immediate subjection of the Hollanders, and the total extirpation of heresy, every part of his empire resounded with the noise of armaments: In all the ports
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of Sicily, Naples, Spain and Portugal, artizans were employed in constructing vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores and provisions were collected; armies levied and quartered in the maritime towns of Spain; and plans laid for fitting out such a fleet and embarkation as had never before had its equal in Europe. This fleet, which they ostentatiously stiled the Invincible Armada, was to be commanded by the Marquis of Santa Croce; the land forces were under the command of the duke of Parma; 20,000 soldiers were on board the fleet; and 34,000 were assembled in Flanders, ready to be transported in flat bottomed vessels into England.

Great preparations were making in England to resist this mighty force; and men of all ranks vied with each other, in defending their religion and liberty, against those imminent perils with which they were menaced. The force of the kingdom indeed seemed unequal to withstand so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted to about fourteen thousand men. The royal navy consisted of twenty eight sail, many of which were of a small size. The only advantage of the English fleet, which was greatly reinforced by the quotas required of the commercial towns, and by the exertions of individuals, consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth, and commanded by Lord Howard: under him served Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe. Another squadron of forty vessels lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma.

The land forces of England were more numerous than the enemy, but inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience. An army of 20,000 men was disposed along the south coast; 22,000 under Leicester were stationed at Tilbury; the main army consisted of 34,000 foot, and 2000 horse, who were to guard the queen's person, and to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. In this critical juncture, James was disposed to cultivate an union with England, and kept himself prepared to march with the whole force of his kingdom to the assistance of Elisabeth. In order

der to fill the English with an abhorrence of the Spaniards, the most dreadful accounts were published of their cruelties and barbarities, and of the several instruments of torture with which, it was pretended, the Armada was loaded. The more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, the queen appeared in the camp at Tilbury, and animated the soldiers by her exhortations and example, in defence of their country and religion.

The Armada was ready in the beginning of May ; but its sailing was somewhat retarded by the sudden death of Santa Croce the admiral, and of Paliano the vice-admiral. The command was given to the duke of Medina Sidonia, a man unexperienced in action, and unacquainted with sea affairs. A tempest, which they met with immediately after they set sail, sunk some of the smallest ships, and obliged the rest to return in order to refit. The damages being repaired, Medina again set sail with a fleet of 130 large ships, of a greater size than any ever before used in Europe, besides smaller vessels: he was ordered to sail to the coast opposite to Newport and Dunkirk ; after chasing away the vessels which obstructed the passage, to join the duke of Parma ; thence to sail to the Thames ; and, having landed the whole Spanish army there, complete at one blow the conquest of England. But, being informed by a fisherman whom they took, that the English admiral having been lately at sea, and having heard of the tempest, which scattered the Armada, had retired to Plymouth, and laid up his ships, Medina conceived the design of destroying the English ships in their harbour, and made sail directly for Plymouth. Effingham, informed of his approach, prepared to meet him, and had just time to get out of the port when he saw the Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and extending seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. He gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards but to cannonade them at a distance, and wait the opportunity of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Two rich
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galleons, which fell behind the rest, were taken by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English hung on its rear, and infested it with skirmishes. Effingham daily received reinforcements, and his fleet at last amounted to 140 sail. The unwieldy and ill governed ships of the Spaniards were found to possess little advantage over the smaller, but better managed vessels of the English. While the former lay before Calais, the English Admiral sent among them eight of his smaller ships, full of combustibles, and falling upon them when in confusion, took or destroyed twelve of the enemy. It appeared that the intention of the armament was now frustrated. The Duke of Parma could not leave the harbour, while the English, not only were able to keep the sea, but seemed even to triumph over their enemy. The Spanish Admiral prepared to return homewards; but the wind being contrary to a passage through the channel, he resolved to make the tour of the island, and reach the Spanish harbour by the ocean. A violent tempest overtook the Armada, after it passed the Orkneys; many of their ships were wrecked on the western isles of Scotland, and on the coast of Ireland: the Invincible Armada vanished into smoke; not a half of it returned to Spain; and the seamen and soldiers who remained filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of the ocean which surrounds them.

1589.—Joy for the present success made the parliament, which was summoned after the dispersion of the Armada, very liberal in their supplies. The house of commons, which was full of puritans, indicated the same spirit of liberty, and of innovation in matters of religion, as formerly: but it was speedily checked by the power and prerogative of the queen. The nation were animated with the most enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain, and some private adventurers undertook to conquer Portugal for Don Antonio, a natural son of the royal family of that kingdom. The expedition was commanded by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris;
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but finally proved unsuccessful. This year James was married to the sister of the king of Navarre.

The king of Navarre having, by the murder of Henry III. succeeded to the crown of France, under the title of Henry the IV. found himself reduced to great difficulties by the league, and applied to Elisabeth for assistance. To prevent the desertion of his auxiliaries, she made him a present of 22,000*l.* and sent him a reinforcement of 4000 men. These troops revived in France the ancient fame of English valour; Henry gained a victory over his enemies at Ivree; but the Duke of Parma being sent by Philip to the assistance of the league, Elisabeth found it necessary to continue her succours. The Earl of Essex, a young nobleman, who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favour with Elisabeth, was sent over with 4000 men to assist in expelling the leaguers from Normandy, but the Duke of Parma frustrated for the present all their projects. Elisabeth, sensible how necessary it was to support Henry against the league and the Spaniards, formed a new treaty with him; in which she promised to send a new supply of 4000 men, and both parties agreed never to make peace with Philip but with common consent. During these military operations in France, Elisabeth exerted her whole naval power against Spain, and was successful in several expeditions.

1593.—The great expence attending the war with Philip, obliged Elisabeth to summon a parliament, which, though called together for the purpose of voting a supply, she treated in the most haughty manner, and whose privileges she openly violated. She sent Wentworth, a puritan, to the Tower, for a motion respecting the succession; and Joyce the chancellor of the duchy, who moved for a redress of the abuses in the high commission court, was seized in the house itself, discharged from his office, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury Castle. The Lords thinking the supply voted too small, proposed an addition to it, and desired a conference with the commons, in order to persuade

suade them to agree to this measure, The commons at first rejected this proposal; but, afraid of offending their superiors, afterwards agreed both to the conference, and to the additional subsidy.

The affairs of the league having gone greatly to decay, since the conversion of Henry to the Catholic faith, Elifabeth began to be more sparing in his cause, both of the blood and treasure of her subjects. She was also inclined to diminish her charges on account of the States; and, though she supplied them with 4000 auxiliaries, yet it was at their own expence, and on condition of paying 100,000l annually for four years after finishing the war with Spain. But, though Elifabeth thus made war against Philip, both in France and the Low Countries, the most severe blows which she gave him were by those naval enterprizes, which either she or her subjects scarcely ever intermitted during one season. The most important of these was an expedition against Cadiz, where the earl of Essex, who commanded the land forces, displayed the most heroic and impetuous valour. The English made rich plunder in the city, which they took sword in hand, and would have gained much richer, from the valuable merchant ships, of which the harbour was full, had not the Spanish Admiral set fire to them, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Essex insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz; but this, as well as some other romantic proposals of this nobleman, was overruled by the other soldiers and sailors. Effingham, the admiral, was created earl of Nottingham on their return: his promotion gave great disgust to Essex, who pretended that the merit of taking Cadiz belonged solely to him, and who offered to maintain this plea by single combat against Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred. Another armament under Essex, destined to attack the Spaniards, who were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and the Groine, with the view of making a descent on Ireland, met with a furious storm, which so disabled them that they laid aside all thoughts of that enterprize. The fleet being refitted, Essex bent his course to the Azores, in order to intercept the
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Indian fleet; but in this he likewise failed, having taken only three ships, which were sufficient, however, to repay the expences of the armament. During this expedition, there arose some differences between Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, which occasioned violent disputes and divisions in the court upon their return.

1598.—The war with Spain, having exhausted the queen's exchequer, obliged her to have recourse to the parliament for a supply. The burden of it was now likely to fall chiefly upon England, for Henry had concluded a separate peace with Philip at Ver- vins. Many of her courtiers, particularly Burleigh the treasurer, advised the queen to embrace pacific measures. These counsels were by no means agreeable to the earl of Essex, whose passion for glory, as well as military talents, made him wish for the continuance of the war. His advice was moreover conformable to the queen's inclination, and the favourite seemed daily to gain an ascendant over the minister. But Essex was deficient in caution and self-command; and his lofty spirit knew not submission. Being once engaged in a dispute with the queen, he contemptuously turned his back upon her; which so provoked her majesty, who was naturally violent, that she struck him a blow on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the due submissions, he clapped his hand on his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII. himself: and he immediately withdrew from court. But, such was the queen's partiality for him, that he was reinstated in his former favour: and the death of Burleigh, which happened about the same time, seemed to ensure him constant possession of her confidence.

1599.—Though Ireland had been conquered for above four centuries, the dominion of the English was still very imperfect, and their government extremely weak. The people were rude and barbarous; the princes and nobles lived in a state of lawless independence, and were engaged in frequent conspiracies and insurrections against their English masters. A dangerous rebellion had lately been excited in Ulster by the earl of Ty-

rone, chief of the O'Neales, who having roused the spirit of his countrymen by some considerable victories, and having entered into a correspondence with Spain, set up for the deliverer of his country, and the patron of Irish liberty. Essex was, at his own request, appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and sent over with 20,000 foot and 2000 horse to subdue the rebels. His enemies were happy that he was thereby removed from the queen's presence, and they knew that the greater the expectations were of success, the more difficult would it be for the event to correspond with them. The greater part of the campaign was wasted in frivolous enterprizes; the army was much diminished by sickness and desertion; and a cessation of hostilities was at last concluded to the first of May. So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elisabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex: she took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction, but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders. Dreading, however, that if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, he hastily embraced the resolution of returning into England.

He arrived at court before any person was apprized of his intentions, and hastening into the chamber of the queen, who was but newly risen, met with a gracious reception. But this placability of Elisabeth was merely the result of surprise. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her carriage extremely altered: she ordered him to be confined to his chamber and to be twice examined by the council. Essex professed an entire submission to the queen's will; but the vexation of this disappointment, and the triumph of his enemies, prayed upon his haughty spirit, and threw him into a dangerous distemper. Elisabeth, who meant to correct not to ruin him, sent physicians to attend him, and a message importing, that, if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself pay him a visit.

1600.—The success attending Lord Mountjoy, the successor of Essex, convinced Elisabeth more and more of
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of the misconduct of her favourite in Ireland, and determined her to continue her rigour towards him, in order, if possible, to subdue his haughty and incontrollable spirit. The people, with whom Essex was a great favourite, complained of the injustice done him by his confinement, and his removal from court. Elisabeth, in order to justify her conduct with regard to him, intended to have him tried in the star chamber, but her tenderness prevailed over her severity, and she was contented to have him examined by the privy council. Their sentence was, that he should be deprived of his offices, and confined to his house during the queen's pleasure. His enemies had even interest enough to prevent the renewal of a patent which he possessed for a monopoly of sweet wines. Essex had hitherto behaved with the greatest humility and submission to the queen; but this last instance of rigour pushed him to despair, and engaged him in measures ruinous to himself, and very distressing to the queen.

He carefully practised every art of popularity, and sought to ingratiate himself both with the catholics and puritans. He indulged himself in peevish expressions against the queen, and was even heard to say that she was now grown old, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. He entered into a correspondence with James, and proposed that Mountjoy, the deputy of Ireland, should bring over a part of the army to England, and force the queen to declare the king of Scots her successor. A select council of his partizans, who were extremely numerous, was held, wherein it was resolved to seize on the palace, and oblige the queen to remove his enemies, to summon a parliament, and to settle a new plan of government. Certain circumstances having led him to suspect that the whole conspiracy was discovered, he hastily assembled his friends, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to raise the city, he was seized and thrown into prison. His guilt was too apparent to admit of doubt, and sentence of death was pronounced against him by a jury of twenty-five peers. Elisabeth shewed the utmost reluctance and hesitation in the execution of this sentence. Violent was the struggle

gle between resentment and inclination, a regard to her own safety and concern for her favourite. But offended at his supposed obstinacy in not making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy, she finally gave her consent to his execution. Sir Walter Raleigh, his great enemy, who came to the Tower on purpose, and who beheld Essex's execution from a window, increased, by this action, the general hatred under which he already laboured.

1601.—The remaining events of this reign are neither numerous nor important. Elisabeth had this year a conference with Rosny, afterwards duke of Sully, minister to Henry, and revealed to him a scheme, which had likewise occurred to his own master, of establishing a new system in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by the erection of new states on the ruins of the house of Austria. But the affairs of France made it necessary to delay this enterprize for some years. Mountjoy was very successful against the Irish rebels, and compelled a body of Spaniards, who had been sent to their assistance, to evacuate the kingdom. In the following year, the affairs of Ireland were brought near to a settlement; Tyrone surrendered his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy; and the ministers, with whom he had great interest, procured his pardon.

1603.—But Elisabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from these events. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, arising from some incidents which revived her tenderness for Essex, and filled her with the deepest sorrow for the consent which she had unwarily given to his execution. Elisabeth had formerly given that nobleman a ring as a pledge of her affection, and assured him that, into whatever disgrace he might fall, she would immediately, upon the sight of it, recal her tenderness, and lend a favourable ear to whatever he had to say in his defence. After his trial and condemnation, he had committed this ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not

to execute the commission. But having, on her death-bed, obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed the fatal secret. Elisabeth, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion; she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her! *that God might pardon her, but she never could*, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. After lying ten days and nights on the carpet, without allowing herself to be put to bed, and having during all this time, rejected all remedies, and even rejected food and sustenance, she at last expired in the 70th year of her age, and 45th of her reign, declaring her kinsman, the King of Scots, to be her successor.

In vigour, constancy, magnanimity, penetration, vigilance, and address, Elisabeth appears not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled the throne; A conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. When we contemplate her as a woman, blemishes present themselves to our view: her qualities as a sovereign, are the object of undisputed applause, and approbation.

CHAPTER XXV.

JAMES I. 1603.

THE crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart. James was the lineal heir; Elisabeth had with her dying breath recognised his title, and the nation disposed themselves with pleasure for his reception. On his journey from Edinburgh to London, all ranks of men flocked around him, and expressed their satisfaction by acclamations and rejoicings. But James, who hated the bustle of a mixed multitude, issued a proclamation, forbidding, on various pretences, so great a resort of people.

James, on his accession, was extremely profuse in the distribution of titles; and he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no less than 237 persons in the space of six weeks. Though he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elisabeth's ministers, among whom secretary Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury, was always esteemed his chief counsellor, he shewed, in conferring favours, a great partiality to his old subjects, and thereby excited the jealousies and complaints of his new. Ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe came to congratulate

late James on his accession, and to form with him new alliances. A treaty was entered into with the French king, in which they agreed secretly to support the States General against the Spaniards, by allowing the Dutch to levy forces in their respective dominions, and remitting them the sum of 1,400,000 livres annually for the pay of these forces.

Notwithstanding the auspicious commencement of this reign, a discovery was at this time made of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king by the family of Lenox, and equally descended from Henry VII. Every thing still remains mysterious in this conspiracy: Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for being concerned in it, and, though he obtained a reprieve, he remained in confinement many years afterwards.

1604.—A conference was this year held at Hampton Court between the church-men and the leaders of the puritanical party, at which the mighty questions concerning the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the bowing at the name of Jesus, were disputed before the king and his ministers. The indignities which James had suffered from the Scottish clergy determined him to prevent, if possible, the farther growth of their brethren in England. From the beginning of the conference, he shewed a strong propensity to the established church: he frequently inculcated a maxim, which experience has proved to be false, No Bishop, No King; and declared that presbytery agreed as well with monarchy as God and Devil. A few alterations of the liturgy were agreed to, and both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction.

In the parliament which, after some delay, on account of the plague then raging in London, had at length assembled, the commons, with much spirit and good sense, asserted their right of judging solely in their own elections and returns; whereas it had been usual for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority of issuing new writs to supply the place of any members whom he judged incapable of attending, either on ac-

count of their employment, their sickness, or any other impediment. About this time an insensible revolution had taken place in the minds of men; and that free and independent spirit, which the popular government of Elisabeth had confined within narrow bounds, began to shew itself under a princeless dreaded and beloved, and who was descended from a new and foreign family. But James perceived not this alteration; and having formed high ideas of his prerogative, and established within his own mind a system of absolute government, he considered all power as centered in himself, and that he was entitled to dispose of every thing by a hereditary and divine right. The union of the two kingdoms was zealously desired by the king; but the parliament would go no farther than appoint commissioners to deliberate with commissioners from Scotland concerning the terms of the Union, but without any power of making any advances towards the establishment of it. The commons shewed the same spirit of independence, by refusing the supply proposed by the court-party. This summer the peace with Spain was finally concluded, and, by a secret agreement, the king reserved a power of assisting the Hollanders.

1605.—The catholics hoped for great favour on the accession of James; but they soon discovered their mistake; and they were at once surpris'd and enraged to find him, on all occasions, express his intentions of strictly executing the laws enacted against them. Animated by furious zeal for their religion, they devised a method of revenge, the most extraordinary and diabolical which ever occurred to the human mind; this was to blow up the parliament-house with gun-powder on the first day of the session, and thus involve all their enemies, the king, the royal family, the nobility, the gentry, in one common ruin. Catesby, the author of the plot, communicated the matter to one Piercy, in whose name a house was hired, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Here the conspirators began their operations, and soon pierced the wall, though three feet in thickness. On approaching the

the other side, they were somewhat startled at hearing a noise, which, upon inquiry, they found proceeded from a vault below the house of lords, where a magazine of coals had been kept. As the coals were selling off, and the place was to be let, the opportunity was embraced, and the vault hired by Piercy. Thirty six barrels of gunpowder were lodged in it, and the whole covered with faggots and billets. It was resolved that Piercy should seize or assassinate the king's younger son, who, by reason of his tender age, would not be present at the meeting of parliament; and that Sir Everard Digby should seize the Princess Elisabeth, a child likewise, who was kept at Lord Harrington's in Warwickshire, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during a year and a half. The day now approached on which the parliament was to assemble. Ten days before, Lord Monteagle, a catholic, received a letter which was delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. The purport of it was to advise him, if he regarded his own safety, not to attend the present parliament, for they would receive a terrible blow, and yet not see who hurt them. Monteagle carried this letter to Salisbury secretary of state, who laid it before the king. It seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder, and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. Lord Suffolk, to whom this care belonged, remarked, on the day before the meeting of parliament, the great piles of wood under the upper house, and cast his eye upon Guy Fawkes, one of the conspirators, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Piercy's servant. It was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, a justice of peace was sent, with proper attendants: the matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were found in the pockets of Fawkes, who was standing before the door of the vault; the faggots were turned over, and the powder discovered. This daring villain at first refused to discover any of his accomplices;

plices; but, being left to reflect on his guilt and danger, and the rack being shewn him, his courage at last failed, and he made a full discovery. Catesby, Piercy, and the other criminals, when they heard of Fawkes being arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, one of the confederates, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elisabeth. Their number never exceeded eighty persons; they resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible; but a great part of their powder taking fire, disabled them from defence; they were surrounded on all sides; Catesby and Piercy were killed by one shot; the rest, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and suffered by the hand of the executioner.

The king, after his speech to the parliament, wherein with great moderation he observed, that, though religion had engaged the conspirators in so criminal an attempt, yet they ought not to involve all the catholics in the same guilt, and that, for his part, he should never alter in the least his plan of government, prorogued it to the 22d of January. In the next session, the king renewed his efforts for the union of the kingdoms; but the parliament was so averse to the measure, that he could procure nothing more but an abolition of the hostile laws enacted between them. The commons now began to feel themselves of such importance, that, in 1607, they entered, for the first time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals. In 1609, that war, which had for half a century been carried on with such fury between Spain and the United Provinces, was concluded by a truce of twelve years: The treaty was guaranteed by France and England.

The great influx of money into England, the state of foreign princes, and the increasing luxury of the age, made the expences of a court much greater than in former times. As the revenue of the king did not increase in proportion, and as a great dilapidation had been made of the crown-lands by Elisabeth, James was frequently under the necessity of petitioning supplies from his people; and, as the commons were extremely

tremely tenacious of their money, this subject was the cause of disgust and quarrel between the prince and parliament during the whole reign. The lords, as is usual, defended the barriers of the throne, and rejected several bills which in 1610 had passed the house of commons; one for abolishing certain impositions, which the king, by his prerogative, had established on several kinds of merchandise; and another to prevent the establishment of any ecclesiastical canons without the consent of parliament. This session the commons agreed to give 200,000*l.* annually in lieu of the rights of purveyance and wardship; but the business was never terminated. Amidst all the attacks which the commons made on royal prerogative, the king displayed as openly as ever all his exalted notions of monarchy and the authority of princes.

In 1611, James, who was himself deeply skilled in scholastic divinity, obliged the states to deprive one Vorstius, a disciple of Arminius, of his chair, and banish him their dominions, because he differed from his Britannic Majesty in some nice point about the essence and decrees of God. He was soon after engaged in a more useful undertaking, and one in which he appeared to greater advantage, namely in giving laws to Ireland, in civilizing its inhabitants, and in rendering their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England.

The death of Prince Henry, a youth of extraordinary merit, happened about this time, and diffused great grief throughout the nation. Violent reports were propagated as if he had been carried off by poison, but the physicians, on opening his body, found no symptoms to confirm this opinion. The marriage of the Princess Elisabeth with the Elector palatine was finished soon after the death of the princess, and served to dissipate the grief which arose on that melancholy event.

James had so little concern in foreign politics, that, except during the sessions of parliament, the history of his reign is the history of the court rather than of the nation. A favourite now excited the attention and envy of the court, Robert Carre, a youth of twenty years

years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, had gained the affections of the monarch. All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks: all his acquired, in an easy air and a graceful demeanour. But such was the king's favour for this raw youth, that he undertook himself to initiate him in politics, and even in grammar; heaped upon the minion riches, confidence, and honour: created him viscount Rochester, and afterwards earl of Somerset. To complete the measure of courtly happiness, nothing was wanting but a kind mistress; and this he met with in Lady Frances Howard, whose marriage with the earl of Essex had been celebrated, but not consummated. By the interest of the king a divorce was procured; Sir Thomas Overbury, Somerset's counsellor and friend, who dissuaded him from the measure, was poisoned; and the courtier and his mistress were at length made happy.

But, though Somerset's superficial accomplishments at first gained the King's affections, they were unable to retain them; and James began to estrange himself from a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. The discovery of the murder of Overbury accelerated his downfall: All the accomplices in this crime received the punishment due to their guilt; but the king pardoned the principals, Somerset and his countess. He even conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity.

What contributed not a little to the ruin of Somerset, was a new passion which the King had conceived for George Villiers, a youth of good family, and remarkable for the advantages of a handsome person, a genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy, he was purposely placed full in James's eye, and immediately engaged the attention and affections of that monarch. James determined to take him into his service; and, that he might have easy access to his person, he appointed him cup-bearer. Somerset's removal paved the way for Villiers to the highest point of honour and power. In a few years, he was created viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master

master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the King's Bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England.

To gratify the king's favourite, money must be obtained. The king had some time ago summoned a new parliament, which discovered a stronger spirit of liberty than the preceding; and, as they seemed determined to resume the subject of the impositions before they entered upon the supply, he immediately dissolved them with great indignation, and even threw into prison some members who had been most violent in their opposition to his measures. Other methods of raising money were had recourse to; patents for knighthood and nobility were sold; privy seals were circulated, to the amount of 200,000 pounds; benevolences were levied to the amount of 52,000 pounds; and the cautionary towns, which Elizabeth had received as a security for the payment of the debt due by the Dutch republic, were delivered up for the sum of 250,000 pounds.

In 1617, the king took a journey into Scotland, in order to renew his ancient friendship and connections, but chiefly to introduce that change of church government on which he was extremely intent. The chief points which he proposed to accomplish, were the enlargement of the episcopal authority, against which the nation entertained a strong abhorrence; the introduction of certain ceremonies into public worship, which, though indifferent, or unimportant in themselves, were altogether inconsistent with that simple and spiritual mode of worship which was then established, and the fixing a superiority in the civil above the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But James found an extreme reluctance, both in the parliament and in the assembly of the church, to agree to these innovations: and it was only by his importunity and authority that he at length procured a vote for the receiving of his ceremonies.

1618—Sir Walter Raleigh had now been confined for thirteen years, during which time he had chiefly dedicated his attention to the pursuits of literature, and executed

executed so great a work as the history of the world. He was now become extremely popular in the nation; and, having spread a report of a golden mine of immense richness, which he had discovered in Guiana, the king, though he gave little credit to the story, released him from confinement, and conferred on him authority over those multitudes who had been induced to engage with him in the adventure. He still reserved, however, the former sentence against him, as a check upon his future behaviour. Raleigh arrived in the river Oroonoko with twelve armed ships, and remaining himself at the mouth of the river on five of the largest, he sent up the rest under the command of his son. When they arrived before St Thomas, a Spanish settlement, young Raleigh called out, *that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other.* As he advanced against the Spaniards, he received a shot, of which he immediately expired. The place was taken, but nothing of value found in it. The survivors returned to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death, and of the ill success of the enterprise. The other adventurers concluding that they had been deceived by Raleigh, and that he never knew of the mine which he pretended to go in search of, determined to return to England, and to carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. He was strictly examined by the privy council, who highly condemned his conduct; and, loud complaints being made against him by the court of Spain, James signed the warrant for his execution, upon his former sentence. Finding his fate inevitable, he prepared for it with courage. When he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded, *it is a sharp remedy, he said, but a sure one for all ills.* No measure of James's reign was considered as more cruel and unjust, or was attended with more public dissatisfaction, than this sacrifice of the man who possessed the highest reputation for valour and military experience in the kingdom.

The states of Bohemia having revolted against the Emperor Ferdinand, made an offer of their crown to

Frederic

Frederic the Elector Palatine, from whom, being son-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to Maurice prince of Orange, they expected effectual support. Frederic immediately accepted the offer, and marched all his forces into Bohemia, to the assistance of his new subjects. The whole English nation was on fire to engage in the quarrel. They considered their connection with the Palatine as very intimate; and, when they heard of catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against protestants, they thought their own interest deeply concerned, and regarded their neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and his religion. But the unwarlike and unactive disposition of James prevented him from seconding their ardour; and he moreover thought it dangerous to patronize the revolt of subjects against their sovereign. The expulsion of Frederic from Bohemia, and the loss of the Palatinate, excited in the nation great murmurs and complaints against the king's neutrality and unactive disposition. But James determined to seek the restoration of his son-in-law only by remonstrances and embassies; and he flattered himself, that, after he had formed a connection with the Spanish monarch, by means of his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain, which was now in agitation, the restitution of the Palatinate might be procured, from the motive alone of friendship and personal attachment.

1621.—Want of money obliged the king to summon a new parliament, which discovered at first nothing but duty and submission to the crown. But, encouraged by their success in an application for a redress of grievances regarding certain patents, they proceeded to impeach the celebrated Lord Chancellor Bacon, who was accused of taking bribes in the exercises of this office. Having acknowledged his corruptions, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 40,000 pounds, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to be forever incapable of any office, of sitting in parliament, or coming within the verge of the court. The king remitted the sentence, and conferred on him a pension of 1800 pounds a year, during the remainder of his life.

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The measures of the commons all tended to a rupture with the monarch. They now began to consider themselves as the patrons of the people, and as the source whence the redress of all grievances must proceed. James beheld with a jealous eye the invasion of his prerogative; and, though he was willing to correct the abuses of his power, he would not submit to have his power itself questioned and denied. The commons framed a remonstrance, wherein they entreated the king to undertake the defence of the Palatine, to turn his arms against Spain, to enter into no negotiation for his son's marriage but with a protestant princess, and to execute the laws against papists, whose children they proposed to commit to the care of protestant teachers. James hearing of the intended remonstrance, wrote a letter to the speaker, wherein he sharply rebuked the house for debating matters far above their reach and capacity, and strictly forbade them to meddle with affairs of state. The commons were inflamed, not terrified. They prepared a new remonstrance, and, besides insisting on their former one, they maintained, that, to interpose with their counsel in all matters of government, and to possess entire freedom of speech in their debates, was their ancient and undoubted right. James, in reply, told them that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than the address of dutiful subjects; that they had no title to interpose with their advice, except when he was pleased to desire it; and that their privileges were all derived from the grace and permission of him and his ancestors. This lofty pretension gave great alarm to the commons. They opposed pretension to pretension, and by a protestation, which they entered on their journals, they asserted, *That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions, of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the people of England.* The king sent for the journals, and with his own hand, before the council, tore out this protestation. The meeting of the house might have proved dangerous after so violent a breach. The parliament was therefore dissolved, and the leading members of the commons committed

mitted to prison. James thus threw aside the veil which covered the English constitution: all men began to indulge themselves in political reasonings, and enquiries; and the same factions which commenced in parliament were propagated throughout the nation.

James's negotiations with the Emperor, and with the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian armies, and on whom the imperial diet had conferred the electoral dignity, seemed to promise him no success in his project of restoring the Palatine. His eyes were therefore entirely turned on Spain, and he dispatched the earl of Bristol as his ambassador to that court. Finding that the difference of religion was the principal difficulty which retarded the marriage of his son, he determined to relax in his severity against the papists; he discharged all the recusants, who had been imprisoned, and it was daily thought that he would forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws enacted against them. This concession in favour of the catholics had the desired effect. Bristol declared, that he would soon be able to congratulate the king on the entire completion of his views: a daughter of Spain, with the immense dowry of 600,000 l. sterling, was soon to be united to the Prince of Wales; nothing was wanting but the pope's dispensation, which was only a matter of formality: and the restoration of the Palatine was likewise considered as the infallible consequence of this connection.

1623,—But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the imprudence of Buckingham the favourite, whom James had exalted from a private condition, to be the bane of himself, of his family, and of his people. Desirous of an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the prince, he represented to him the unfortunate situation with regard to marriage of persons in his exalted station, who received into their arms a bride who was unknown to them, and to whom they were unknown. He suggested that a journey to Madrid would be an enterprise of gallantry, highly agreeable to the princess, and suitable to the romantic character of the Spanish nation. In short he so inflamed the mind of the young

young and enterprising prince, that having, in a moment of kind and jovial humour, obtained the king's consent, they determined to proceed in their adventure. They passed disguised and undiscovered through France, and they even ventured into a court ball in Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta whom he afterwards espoused. Eleven days after their departure they arrived at Madrid. The Spanish monarch immediately paid Charles a visit, expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him, and made warm protestations of a correspondent confidence and friendship. During the prince's stay at Madrid he was treated with the strongest marks of respect and civility; his decency and reserve were agreeable to the manners of the Spaniards; and that generous nation made no attempt, on account of the advantage which they had acquired by the possession of the prince's person, to impose any harder conditions of treaty. On the first hint Charles obtained permission to return; Philip graced his departure with the same circumstances of elaborate civility which had attended his reception, and even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of their mutual friendship.

The familiar manners, dissolute pleasures, and arrogant temper of Buckingham, had rendered him peculiarly odious to the Spanish nation. Sensible of this aversion, and dreading the influence which they would acquire in England on the arrival of the Infanta, he determined if possible to prevent the marriage. So great an ascendant had his impetuous character acquired over the gentle and modest temper of Charles, that he easily brought him to the resolution of breaking off the treaty. The opinion of a son, and of a favourite, seconded by the voice of the nation, which was averse to the Spanish alliance, compelled the timid monarch to abandon his favourite scheme, and a pretext only was wanting to put an end to the negotiation. Positive orders were therefore sent to Bristol not to finish the marriage, till security were given for the full restitution of the Palatinate. To accomplish
this

this by a single stroke of his pen, was not in Philip's power; he could not therefore misunderstand this language; and thinking that such rash counsels would not stop at the breach of the marriage treaty, made preparations for war throughout all his dominions.

A disguised narrative of these transactions, which Buckingham gave to the parliament, induced them to advise the king to break off all treaties with Spain, and enter into a war for the recovery of the Palatinate. The pacific monarch was at last obliged to declare for hostile measures; and, by a very imprudent concession, he voluntarily offered that the money voted for that purpose should be paid to a committee of parliament, and should be issued by them without being intrusted to his management.

Jealousy of the growing power of the house of Austria had at present a very considerable influence on the French counsels; and when James, ambitious of procuring to his son a wife of royal extraction, made a proposal of marriage between Charles and the princess Henrietta, it was readily embraced. It was stipulated in the treaty, that the princess should have the education of her children till they were thirteen years of age.

Notwithstanding all these negotiations and alliances, the Palatinate was still possessed by the emperor and the duke of Bavaria. An ill concerted and fruitless expedition, under count Mansfield, was the only military exertion of any consequence made during this reign.

In 1625, James was seized with a tertian ague, which proved mortal. He expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of 22 years, and in the 59th year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life. The character of this prince has been the object of the severest satire, and of the loudest panegyric. His faults seem to have been those of temper, rather than of judgment. Learning and abilities he certainly possessed; but he wanted firmness, and vigour of mind, which alone could make them useful to himself, or to his people.

C H A P.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARLES I. 1625.

No sooner had Charles taken the reins of government into his own hands, than he hastened to assemble a parliament, in order to lay before them the business of supply. But, though they had been extremely forward to involve the kingdom in a war, they shewed the utmost reluctance to contribute towards its expence, and only voted a supply of 112,000*l*. The plague having broken out in London, he adjourned them to Oxford, where he gave them a particular detail of his necessities, and used entreaties in order to obtain his request; but they still remained inexorable. This obstinacy in the commons proceeded from disgust at the conduct of Buckingham, and at certain articles in favour of the catholics, which were suspected to be in the treaty with France, as well as from a regular system, which many leading men in the nation had entered into, of opposing the exorbitant prerogative of the crown. Loud complaints were made by the commons, who were mostly puritans, against the indulgence which the king, though a determined protestant, seemed inclined to shew the catholics; and they demanded a strict execution of the penal laws enacted

enacted against them. The king finding that the parliament would grant no supply, but, on the contrary, harass him with complaints of grievances, immediately dissolved them.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to privy seals, and to other expedients, by means of which a supply was obtained, and a fleet fitted out, consisting of eighty vessels great and small, and having on board an army of 10,000 men. This armament was dispatched against Cadiz, and, after failing in that attempt, to intercept the Spanish galleons: but, a plague having seized the men, they were obliged to return to England, and abandon all hopes of this prize.

1626.—The failure of this enterprize obliged Charles to summon a new parliament, which immediately adopted the views of the preceding one. Buckingham, whose rash counsels, and great favour with the king, had rendered him extremely unpopular, was this session obliged to sustain two violent attacks; one from the earl of Bristol, on the subject of the negotiations with the house of Austria, and another from the commons. Though the charges brought against him clearly shew his weakness and imprudence, it would be difficult thence to collect any action which could be deemed a crime, much less which could subject him to the penalty of treason. The king thought proper to command the commons not to meddle with his minister; he ordered them to finish, in a few days, the bill for the subsidies, otherwise they must not expect to sit any longer; and in a future message he threatened, that, if they did not furnish him with supplies, he would be obliged to try *new counsels*; a language sufficiently clear to express the king's intention of governing the kingdom without the assistance of parliament. The parliament were alarmed by these imprudent suggestions, and determined, while it was yet in their power, to secure the constitution by such invincible barriers, that no king or minister should ever for the future dare to speak in such language. They insisted on the liberation of two of their members, who had been thrown

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into prison, because they were employed as managers of the impeachment against Buckingham. They had recourse also to the never failing subject, the indulgence given to papists; and they were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without the consent of parliament, when the king ended the session by a dissolution. The commons published their remonstrance, and the king a declaration of the reasons of his disagreement with the parliament: these papers afforded the partizans on both sides with ample matter of apology or of recrimination.

The *new counsels* were now to be tried, in order to obtain supplies. If the king had possessed a military force on which he could rely, it is probable that he would at once have taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges: but, in the present circumstances, it behoved him to proceed cautiously, and under pretence of ancient precedents. After the usual methods of private loans, benevolences, and assessments, were exhausted, an act of council was passed for demanding a *general loan* from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. Those who refused this loan were, by warrant of the council, thrown into prison. Most of these with patience submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who commonly released them. Five gentlemen alone had spirit enough, at their own expence and hazard, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releasement, not as a favour from the court, but as their due by the laws of their country. When the cause came before the judges, it appeared that though some few precedents justified the refusal of bail upon commitment by the special command of the king, yet it was directly contrary to several statutes; and the court not only remanded the gentlemen to prison, and refused the bail which was offered, but refused to enter a general judgment that no bail could be granted upon a commitment by the king or council.

The violent measures of the court gave universal offence;

fence; and, by rousing a spirit of liberty in the nation, went even to shake the foundation of Charles's throne. (1627). But, as if internal discords, an empty treasury, and an unsuccessful war with the whole house of Austria, were not sufficient evils, the king about this time wantonly engaged in a war with France. A violent rivalry, not of power and politics, but of love and gallantry, subsisted between Buckingham and cardinal Richelieu, both of whom had dared to pay their addresses to the French queen. So jealous was the cardinal of his rival, that when the duke was making preparations for a new embassy to Paris, a message was sent him from Lewis, that he must not think of such a journey. In a romantic passion, he swore *that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France*; and from that moment he determined to engage England in a war with that kingdom, and zealously seconded the applications of the Hugonot leaders, who were soliciting the protection of Charles against the attempt of Richelieu. A fleet of a hundred sail, and an army of 7000 men, were fitted out for the invasion of France, and both of them entrusted to the command of the duke. But, after an ill concerted and fruitless expedition against the isle of Rhe, he was obliged to return to England, having lost two thirds of his land forces, and being totally discredited both as a general and an admiral.

1628.—The discontents which prevailed in the nation made it dangerous for the king to have recourse to the former oppressive methods of levying money, and obliged him to summon a third parliament. When the commons assembled, they appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such riches that their property was computed to exceed three times that of the house of peers. Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and other leading members of the house, complained with firmness, but at the same time with temper, of the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured. A vote was passed for granting the king a supply of five subsidies (80,000); but they de-

layed passing this vote into a law till the end of the session, and determined to employ the interval in providing some barriers to the rights and liberties of the subjects. A committee was appointed to draw up a *petition of right*, the object of which was to provide an eternal remedy against forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, the billeting of soldiers, and martial law. The king, sensible of the consequence of these proceedings, by various evasions, and promises that there should be no cause of complaint for the future, endeavoured to elude the petition. But the leaders of the commons were men of too much wisdom and penetration, either to be lulled into security by vain promises or deterred by threats; and the petition being sent to the upper house, passed without any material alterations. To this petition the king gave only an evasive answer; and the commons vented their indignation, by attacking Dr Manwaring, who had preached and published, by desire of the king, a sermon destructive of all civil liberty. The sentence pronounced against him by the peers was, that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, should be suspended during three years, should pay a fine of 1000*l.* should be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book should be burnt. They next proceeded to censure the conduct of the duke of Buckingham; and the king, sensible of the difficulties in which he was involved, at length yielded to the importunities of parliament, and gave them satisfaction with regard to the petition of right, by coming to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, *let it be law as desired*. As a supposed condition, the vote for the five subsidies immediately passed into a law.

The king's assent to the petition of right produced a very important change in the government; but the commons seeing the opportunity favourable, resolved to pursue the victory. They applied for the cancelling of a commission granted to thirty three of the king's officers, by which they were empowered to meet and concert a method of levying money by impositions or
 otherwife

otherwise: A commission granted for levying and transporting into England 1000 German horse, in order to support the projected impositions, was loudly complained of. They presented to the king a remonstrance against Buckingham; they even proceeded to assert that the levying of tonnage and poundage was a violation of the liberties of the people. To prevent them from finishing their remonstrance on this subject, he suddenly ended the session by a prorogation.

A fleet and army having been prepared for the relief of Rochelle, the great bulwark of the Hugonots, which was now closely besieged by the catholics, Buckingham went down to Portsmouth to take upon him the command. As he was here speaking to one of his colonels, after being engaged in conversation with some French gentlemen, he was, on a sudden, over the colonel's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering more words than, *the villain has killed me!* in the same moment pulling out the knife he breathed his last. No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it: but near the door a hat was found, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of the remonstrance of the commons against the duke, and a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying, "*Here is the fellow who killed the duke!*" every body ran to ask, "*which is he?*" the man very sedately answered, "*I am he.*" He was found to be one Felton, formerly a lieutenant in the army, who, upon some disgust from Buckingham, had thrown up his commission, and whom the belief that he would do an acceptable service to heaven by dispatching this foe to religion and to his country, joined to private resentment, had instigated to commit this horrid deed. When asked, "At whose instigation he had performed it?" he replied, "that they needed not trouble themselves about that inquiry, for he had even entrusted his purpose to none, and the resolution had proceeded solely from himself and the impulse of his own mind." The king received the news of this assassination in public with an unmoved countenance, from which some con-

cluded that he was secretly not displeased to be rid of a minister so odious to the nation. During his whole life, however, he retained an affection for the duke's friends: he urged, too, that Felton should be put to the torture, in order to discover his accomplices: But the judges declared, that, though that practice had formerly been very common, it was altogether illegal. After the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the earl of Lindsey, who being unable to give any effectual assistance to the inhabitants of Rochelle, that city was forced to surrender at discretion.

1629.—Though the death of Buckingham had removed one principal source of complaint against the king, there still remained many others, which the commons, enraged by the king's duplicity and evasions, and fully resolved to bring their prince under subjection, eagerly laid hold of in the following session. Their political and theological contentions went hand in hand; and, while the friends of liberty firmly opposed the arbitrary measures of the court, the puritans were actuated with equal zeal against the hierarchy, and complained with equal violence of the encouragement given to papists and Arminians. The dispute about tonnage and poundage, which had for some time been agitated, at last produced a violent rupture between the king and parliament. This duty was always considered as the gift of the people; but it was found so necessary to the support of government, that, since the accession of Henry V. it had been conferred on every monarch during his reign, and had even been levied before it was voted by parliament. Charles's first house of commons shewed their intention of making this revenue temporary, by proposing to vote it for only one year: but the peers refused the bill. Charles foresaw the revival of the subject at this time; and, sensible of the consequences, determined not to yield up his authority by a tame submission.

Sir John Elliot framed a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, and offered it to the clerk to read. It was refused,

fused. He read it himself. The question being then called for, the speaker, Sir John Finch, said, *That he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question.* Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole house was in an uproar. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papists and Arminians were there declared capital enemies to the commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet. And even the merchants who should voluntarily pay these duties, were denominated betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman usher of the house of lords, who was sent by the king, could not get admittance till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings. And a few days after the parliament was dissolved.

Great were the discontents of the nation on this occasion; and these were still farther inflamed by the king's severity in imprisoning the leading members of the commons.

1630.—Charles was now disgusted at parliaments, and resolved to call no more of them. Being utterly destitute of money for carrying on the war against France and Spain, he was wise and fortunate enough to conclude a peace with both these powers. After the death of Buckingham, there was no person in whom he reposed unlimited confidence, and he was chiefly guided by his own counsels. His chief minister and counsellor at this time was Sir Thomas Wentworth, a man of eminent talents, formerly a parliamentary leader, but now gained over to the party of the court, and created earl of Strafford. Laud, bishop of London, upon the death of Abbot, promoted to the see of Canterbury, a man of severe manners, possessed of great polemical knowledge, of unrelenting zeal, and of unceasing industry to exalt the priestly character, had likewise great influence with the king, particularly in what regarded ecclesiastical matters. This prelate was

extremely attached to the observation of rites and ceremonies in religion; and, though the nation could with difficulty reconcile themselves to the ancient ceremonies, Laud, possessed of present power, determined on the introduction of new ones. He prosecuted this resolution with such zeal, as led men to think that his scheme was not to improve the form of worship, but to bring back the English, by gradual steps, to the Romish religion.

While these innovations of Laud, and the great exaltation of the hierarchy, excited the complaints of the puritanical party, Charles gave offence to the whole nation, by the severities of which he was guilty in the star-chamber and high commission courts, and by his arbitrary impositions, and irregular methods of taxation. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. The custom-house officers received orders to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar; to search any trunk or chest; and to break any bulk whatever, in default of the payment of customs. Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the popish religion became a regular part of the revenue. Ship-money was introduced and levied, not only on the sea-port towns, but also on the whole kingdom, by assessments. Exorbitant fines were exacted from many for frivolous causes. To avoid the prosecutions which the king's love of prerogative, and Laud's zeal for ceremonies, stirred up against those who incurred their displeasure, many of the puritans emigrated to America, and these laid the foundation of a government, possessed of all that liberty, civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country. Those who were subjected to these arbitrary punishments became extremely popular in the nation; and the patience with which they submitted to such severities inflamed the public indignation. John Hambden, in particular, has acquired immortal honour, by the bold stand which he made in 1637, in defence of the laws and liberties of his country. He had been rated twenty shillings of ship money for an estate which he possessed in Buckinghamshire;

shire; but, rather than submit to so illegal an imposition, he resolved to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days in the exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England: the nation looked on with anxiety. The prejudiced judges, four excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet. The people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the danger to which their liberties were exposed, by the combined encroachments of church and state. They longed for a parliament to redress their grievances, or for any other incident, however calamitous, rather than the continuance of these evils.

But the first commotions arose from Scotland, a country less disposed to obedience and submission. The king, as well as his father, was strongly attached to episcopacy: and Charles determined to complete that change in the worship and government of the Scottish church which James had formerly begun: his great objects were the restoration of prelatical government, the establishment of discipline, upon a regular system of canons, and the introduction of a liturgy into public worship, innovations extremely disagreeable to all orders of men in the kingdom. The nobility were disgusted at the encouragement which the king gave to the bishops. The clergy, naturally arrogant, considered the ecclesiastical as independent of the civil power, and maintained a parity of ecclesiastics to be a divine privilege, which no human law could alter or infringe. Forms and ceremonies in religion were ever odious to the nation, and the liturgy became doubly offensive, when it was universally believed to be intended merely to pave the way for the abominations of the mass, and the superstitions of the Romish religion. In 1637 the populace excited a violent tumult at Edinburgh, upon occasion of the first reading of the liturgy. The spirit of opposition became universal; petitions were presented to the council against the innovations in religion,

gion, and on all hands there appeared symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection and disorders.

Many of the king's counsellors advised him to desist from so hazardous an attempt: but Charles remained inflexible. To oppose the general combination, he issued a proclamation, in which he pardoned all past offences, exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. The spirit of insurrection now broke forth into action. Four *tables* were formed, one consisting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, and a fourth of burgesses, in whose hands the whole authority of the kingdom was placed, and the first act of whose government was the COVENANT. This famous covenant contained a renunciation of popery, and a bond by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist all religious innovations, and to defend each other against all opposition whatsoever. The people, without distinction of rank, or condition, age or sex, flocked to the subscription of this covenant: and even the king's ministers were seized by the general contagion.

Charles began to apprehend the consequences, and sent the Marquis of Hamilton to treat with the covenanters. He offered to suspend the canons till they were received in a fair and legal way, and required them to renounce the covenant; they plainly told him that they would sooner renounce their baptism. Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey, with new concessions, to Edinburgh; returned again to London; and was immediately sent back with more satisfactory concessions. The king was now willing to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the high commission court, and even to limit extremely the power of the bishops. But these concessions only made the covenanters rise in their demands, and gave no satisfaction. The offer, however, which the king made to summon first an assembly, then a parliament, for the redress, of grievances, was willingly embraced.

Charles perceiving what advantages his enemies had reaped

reaped from their covenant, resolved to have a covenant on his side : but, as it was easily perceived that this was only meant to weaken and divide the covenanters, it was received with the utmost scorn and detestation.

1638.—The assembly met at Glasgow ; and, besides a great concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present, either as members, assessors, or spectators ; and it was apparent that the resolutions taken by the covenanters could here meet with no manner of opposition. A firm determination had been entered into of utterly abolishing episcopacy ; and, as preparative to it, there were laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime that had occurred to the accusers. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly ; the commissioner too protested against that court, as illegally constituted and elected ; and in his majesty's name dissolved it. This measure was foreseen, and little regarded. The court still continued to sit, and to finish their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James to the crown of England, were, upon pretty reasonable grounds, declared null and invalid. The acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were supposed, on that very account, to have no manner of authority. And thus episcopacy, the high commission, the articles of Perth, the canons and the liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful : And the whole fabric which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

The covenanters were sensible that they would be obliged to defend their religious tenets by military

force. Troops were therefore enlisted and disciplined; arms were imported from foreign countries; and, the nation being unanimous in the cause, an army was soon levied, and entrusted to the command of Leslie, a soldier of experience and abilities. The king, on his part, made preparations for subduing his refractory subjects; and having by economy amassed a considerable sum, he was enabled quickly to assemble a powerful force. A fleet with 5000 land-forces on board, under the command of Hamilton, was sent to the Frith of Forth. An army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, where the king appeared in person, advanced to Berwick. The Scottish army was as numerous, but inferior in cavalry. The officers, many of whom had served in Germany, under the famous Gustavus, had more reputation and experience; and the soldiers, though undisciplined and ill armed, were animated by an insurmountable fervour of religion. Yet, so prudent were the malecontents that they craved to be admitted to a treaty. The situation of Charles was very perplexing. If he yielded to the demands of his rebellious subjects his authority was for ever annihilated; the consequences of a defeat (which was not impossible) were equally dangerous; if the war was protracted beyond a campaign, his treasure would fail him, and little supply could be expected from the discontented English. He concluded therefore a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated that he should withdraw his fleet and army: that within 48 eight hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; and that an assembly and parliament should be immediately summoned to compose all the differences.

The Scots well knew that Charles only waited for a favourable opportunity to recover the ground which he had lost. The assembly, when it met, persisted in their former resolutions. The parliament advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch, and were proceeding to ratify the acts of assembly when they were prorogued. The war was again renewed greatly to the advantage of the covenanters. The king's army had been disbanded,

ded, and could not be re-assembled, without great trouble and expence. The more prudent covenanters, apprehending a renewal of hostilities, had ordered their officers and soldiers to be ready on the first summons; and the religious zeal which animated them made them immediately fly to their standards.

1640—The king with great difficulty drew together an army, but finding his revenue unable to support them, he determined, after an intermission of eleven years, to assemble an English parliament. The same ill humours and discontents prevailed in this as in the preceding ones. Charles demanded large supplies; the commons complained of intolerable grievances. An end was at last put to their contentions by a dissolution; the odium of which was increased by the severities exercised against several members who had opposed the king's demands.

Charles was now in the utmost distress for want of money. He borrowed 300,000 pounds from his courtiers: a loan of 40,000 pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower; and all the pepper belonging to the East India company was bought upon trust, and sold for ready money. These expedients enabled the king to march his army, which consisted of 19,000 foot and 2000 horse.

The Scots, who, notwithstanding their hostile attempts, always maintained the most submissive language, had entered England, in order, as they said, to lay their humble petition before the king. At Newburn upon Tyne they defeated a body of 4500 men under Lord Conway, who opposed their passage. They dispatched messengers to the king, who was arrived at York; they redoubled their expressions of loyalty and submission, and even made apologies full of sorrow and contrition for their late victory.

Charles was now in the most distressed condition. The nation was discontented, the army discouraged, and the treasury exhausted. To prevent the advance of the Scots, he agreed to a treaty, and named sixteen English noblemen, who met eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon, whence the negotiation was afterwards

terwards transferred to London. An address arrived from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament; twelve noblemen presented a petition to the same purpose. The king contented himself with summoning a great council of the peers at York; but finding himself unable to stem the torrent, and foreseeing that the peers would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken that resolution.

In order to subsist both armies, (for the king was obliged, in order to save the northern counties, to pay his enemies), Charles wrote to the city, desiring a loan of 200,000*l.* And the peers at York, whose authority was now much greater than that of their sovereign, joined in the same request. So low was their prince already fallen in the eyes of his own subjects.

The disputes which, for thirty years, had agitated the nation, were now come to a height. The house of commons, which was very numerously attended, and almost wholly inclined to the popular cause, determined to seize the present favourable opportunity of resisting those high pretensions of the sovereign, which he had neither sufficient prudence to renounce, nor power to enforce. They began with attacking the earl of Strafford, who was supposed to be the principal adviser of the king's measures, and who had the misfortune to be extremely unpopular throughout all the three kingdoms. The commons voted an impeachment against him for having formed a design of subverting the laws and constitution of England, and introducing arbitrary and unlimited authority into the kingdom. This impeachment being carried to the lords, who did not oppose, or rather seconded the views of the commons, Strafford was immediately committed to custody. Archbishop Laud was impeached, and committed to custody, on the same pretence. Finch, the lord keeper, and Sir Francies Windebank, the secretary, saved themselves by flight. They extended their scrutiny, and declared guilty of *delinquency* (which expressed a species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained

certained) all those who had been employed in the illegal service of levying ship money, all the farmers and officers of the customs, all those who had concurred in the sentences of the star chamber and high-commission courts, and all the judges who had voted against Hambden in the trial of ship-money.

A complete revolution in the government was thus accomplished; the king was so weak that he could not protect his own servants; the authority of the commons seemed irresistible; and the spirit of liberty, which had long been restrained, now blazed forth with double fury. This was the time when genius and capacity of all kinds began to exert themselves. Then arose the sagacious Pym, the dauntless Hambden, the dark and dangerous St John, the impetuous Hollis, the enthusiastic Van. The spirit of liberty which animated the commons was instantly diffused through the nation. Tumults were raised; assemblies were daily held, in which the measures of the court were canvassed and condemned. The pulpits resounded with harangues in favour of liberty. Petitions for the redress of grievances were presented to the commons in such number, that no less than forty committees were appointed for examining them. From the report of their committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, and inflamed and animated the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hambden cancelled; the court of York abolished; compositions for knighthood stigmatized; the enlargements of the forests condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and every late measure of administration treated with reproach and obloquy. To-day, a sentence of the star-chamber was exclaimed against; to-morrow, a decree of the high commission. Every discretionary act of council was represented as arbitrary and tyrannical; and the general inference was still inculcated, that a formed design had been laid to subvert the laws and constitution of the kingdom.

By these bold measures, the commons confounded and overawed their opponents, while at the same time

they inspired courage into their friends and adherents. They were very careful in paying court to the Scots, the presence of whose army had so much contributed to their triumph over the king. The more to ingratiate themselves with these presbyterians, and with the puritanical party, which was now prevalent both in the house and throughout the nation, violent attacks were made by the popular leaders on the established church. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, the city of London, and different parts of the kingdom, presented petitions for a total alteration of church government. A bill was introduced for depriving the bishops of their seats in the upper house, but was rejected by a great majority of the peers. While the puritans were so zealous against the church, it could not be expected that the catholics would be overlooked. By an address from the commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the king for seizing two thirds of the lands of recusants. The execution of the severe and bloody laws against priests was insisted on; and one Goodman, a Jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment.

Charles, observing the low condition to which he was reduced, determined on a change of measures, and hoped to gain the confidence of his people by conforming himself entirely to their inclination. He passed a very important bill, in which the commons asserted their right of bestowing tonnage and poundage, and voted these duties for the space only of two months. After some hesitation he passed another bill, which enacted that parliament should be held every third year, and, after they were assembled, should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during the space of fifty days.

Meanwhile the commons prosecuted with the utmost vigour the trial of Strafford, and were resolved by any means to accomplish his ruin. A committee of thirteen was chosen to manage the impeachment; and these, dividing among them the several articles, which were 28 in number, and chiefly regarded his

conduct

conduct as lieutenant of Ireland, and president of York, attacked the prisoner with all the weight of authority, all the vehemence of rhetoric, and all the accuracy of preparation. Yet Strafford, alone and unassisted, made so able a defence, that the commons saw it impossible, by a legal prosecution, to obtain a sentence against him.

A bill of attainder was therefore brought into the lower house, immediately after the finishing of the pleadings, and passed with no greater opposition than that of 59 dissenting votes. But the assent of the king and of the lords was still requisite, and by these it was foreseen the bill would be rejected. A discovery, made at this time, of a project formed by some of the principal officers, in correspondence with some of the king's servants, of bringing the army to London, in order to overawe the parliament, filled the nation with the utmost alarm, and hastened Strafford's fate. The populace, armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, surrounded the parliament house, and cried out for *justice* on the unhappy Strafford. Such apprehensions were entertained of violence, that, of 80 peers who commonly attended the trial, only 45 were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house, yet of these 19 had the courage to vote against it.

Popular violence having prevailed over the peers, the same engine was employed to procure the king's assent. The populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice with the loudest clamours, and the most violent menaces. Charles hesitated long about sacrificing his favourite and his friend. He was at last determined, by a letter, which he received from the unhappy prisoner, and in which he was intreated to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them the request for which they were so importunate; and, after the most violent anxiety and doubt, he granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent to the bill. Strafford submitted to his fate with decency and courage.

The king, full of grief and remorse for the doom of
Strafford

Strafford, unwarily gave his assent, at the sametime, to a bill of much greater importance, which enacted that the present parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their consent. Its authority was thus rendered perpetual; and, from the time of its continuance, it was afterwards denominated the long parliament. Two laudable acts followed soon after the execution of Strafford, viz, the abolition of the star chamber and high commission courts. The former the commons found inconsistent with their zeal for their liberty; the latter, with their aversion to the church. The king having determined to pay this year a visit to Scotland, in order to settle the government, and being obliged to pass in his journey through both armies, the parliament, who seem to have entertained great jealousy on that account, hastened to pay their arrears, and to disband them. After this they adjourned to the 20th of October, a committee of both houses being appointed to sit during the recess with very ample powers. This year Charles concluded, with the approbation of parliament, a marriage betwixt the princess Mary and William prince of Orange.

While Charles was settling the affairs of Scotland, beheld his favourite episcopacy totally overthrown, and submitted to the most cruel restrictions of his prerogative which his victorious subjects could impose, he received intelligence of a horrible insurrection in Ireland. The Irish Catholics, instigated by their priests, animated by hatred to their English masters, and alarmed by the severities which they heard were exercised by the parliament against their brethren in England, had entered into a general conspiracy to expel the English protestants who had from time to time come to settle in that kingdom. A plot which was laid for seizing the castle of Dublin was happily discovered and prevented. But it was too late to prevent the intended rebellion which broke out in Ulster with the greatest fury. The houses, cattle, and goods, of the unwary English were first seized: an universal massacre then commenced of the unhappy people, now defenceless, and

and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent the same fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In other parts of the kingdom, the sufferings of the English whose lives were spared were no less terrible than of those who were thus butchered by the sword of the enemy. After being stripped of every thing, even their cloaths, they were turned out in the depth of winter, naked, defenceless, and exposed to all the severities of the season. The roads were every where covered with crouds of naked wretches hastening towards Dublin, and the other cities which yet remained in the hands of their countrymen. Multitudes perished with cold and hunger: by the most moderate account, no less than 40,000 are said to have perished by all these cruelties. The worst was, that there was no force in the kingdom in any degree equal to the suppression of so general a rebellion. Besides many smaller bodies, the principal army of the rebels amounted to 20,000 men, and threatened Dublin with an immediate siege.

In this exigency, Charles had recourse to the English parliament, which had now assembled, and committed to them the care of Ireland. This concession they artfully turned against himself; the management of Ireland, which they took wholly into their own hands, was made only subordinate to their other views; and, under pretence of prosecuting the war, they made preparations for exalting their own authority, for diminishing the king's, for overturning the hierarchy, and thereby gratifying that passion for presbyterian discipline, with which they, as well as the nation, were now seized. To blacken the king's character, they even pretended to assent to the truth of an imposture, advanced by the Irish rebels, who pleaded his commission for all their acts of violence.

Their first attack on the royal authority was a remonstrance concerning the state of the nation, not addressed to the king, but appealed to the people, full of acrimony and violence, containing a list of their grievances, and a detail of all the odious measures of the king

king since his accession to the meeting of the present parliament. This remonstrance was warmly opposed in the house of commons; it was carried by a small majority of eleven; and published without being carried up to the peers. The king dispersed an answer, which was very moderate, but which the nation were not in a humour to think satisfactory.

The commons next renewed the bill which the peers had last year rejected, concerning the removal of the bishops from the upper house. Many of the nobility, and in particular the earls of Northumberland and Essex, and Lord Kimbolton, afterwards earl of Manchester, had joined the popular party; but still a majority of the peers adhered to the king, and their concurrence could not be expected to this law, or to any other, for the farther limitation of the royal authority. The commons, who had already in several instances expressed their contempt of the lords, thought proper farther to inflame the minds of the populace. Reports were spread of conspiracies, insurrections, and dangerous combinations against the parliament, and the liberties of the nation. The populace assembled in multitudes; tumults daily happened; and there passed frequent skirmishes between the friends of the commons, who were contemptuously denominated **ROUND-HEADS**, on account of the short crop hair which they wore, and the gentlemen of the court, whom the others called **CAVALIERS**. A protestation was at last signed by 12 bishops, and approved of by the king, declaring all laws null and invalid which should pass during their constrained absence from the house. This was considered as an attempt to invalidate the authority of the legislature, and the commons immediately voted an impeachment of the bishops, who were on the first demand sequestered from parliament, and committed to custody.

1642—One indiscretion more determined the fate of Charles, and of England. The attorney general appeared in the house, and, in his majesty's name, entered an accusation of high treason against Lord Kimbolton and five commoners; Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig,

Hazlerig, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. A serjeant at arms demanded of the commons the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. The king resolved next day to come to the house, with an intention to demand, perhaps seize in their presence, the persons whom he had accused. The five members having gotten private intelligence of the design, had withdrawn a moment before the king entered. He left his retinue at the door, and advanced alone through the hall; while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker having left the chair, the king took possession of it, and in a speech informed the house of his intention. After looking round some time for the accused members, he departed, some members crying aloud, so as he might hear them, *privilege! privilege!*

The accused members took refuge in their great fortress, the city, where the proceedings of the king had diffused such alarm, that the citizens were all night under arms. Next morning the king went to the common council, but met not with that reception which he expected. In passing through the streets, he heard the cry, '*privilege of parliament!*' resounding from all quarters; and one person called out, *to your tents, O Israel!* the words employed by the Israelites when they abandoned Rehoboam. When the house of commons met, they affected the utmost dismay, and adjourned for some days. In the interval, they endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people by disseminating reports of conspiracies formed by papists and ill-affected persons, which threatened the most imminent danger to the parliament, and to the nation: and, when they were wrought up to a sufficient pitch, it was thought proper that the accused members should, with a triumphant and military procession, take their seats in the house. The king, apprehensive of the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton Court, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse, for the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. He soon after not only dropped the prosecution, but offered any reparation to the house

house for the breach of privilege of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain.

The commons, seconded by the voice of the nation, and by numerous petitions from various parts of the kingdom, determined to prosecute their victory. By the flight, or terror, or despondency of the king's party, they had acquired an undisputed majority in the house of peers, and every bill was passed which they proposed. To secure, therefore, their own power, they resolved to seize at once the power of the sword, and confer it entirely on their own creatures and adherents. A bill was passed both houses for arming the militia, and putting the nation in a posture of defence; the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in it; they consisted entirely of men in whom the parliament could confide; and for their conduct they were to be accountable, not to the king but to the parliament. Here Charles put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but by a delay. The parliament, after observing that a dangerous attempt had been made against the commons, declared that the danger with which the nation was threatened was too imminent to admit delay. The king proposed an accommodation; the parliament replied, that, unless the king speedily agreed to their demands, they would be constrained, for the safety of the prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of the two houses.

That a consent to the militia bill might not be extorted by popular violence, Charles removed to York. Here he met with stronger marks of attachment than he had been accustomed to receive in the capital and its neighbourhood. From all quarters of England, the prime nobility and gentry, either personally, or by messages and letters, expressed their duty to him; and exhorted him to save himself and them from the ignominious slavery with which they were threatened. Finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, he began to speak in a firmer tone, and to retort the accusations of his enemies. As he still persisted in refusing the militia bill, the two houses, without his consent,

consent, proceeded to name lieutenants for all the counties, and confer on them the command of the whole military force, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts in the kingdom. They still, however, retained the king's name; and in all their commands bound the persons to obey his Majesty's orders signified by both houses of parliament.

Both parties now prepared for a civil war, which seemed inevitable. The troops raised for Ireland were openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the earl of Essex. In London no less than 4000 enlisted in one day. Sir John Hotham, whom they had appointed governor of Hull, where the arms of all the forces levied against the Scots were contained, shut the gates against the king; and Charles having proclaimed him a traitor, the parliament justified his conduct. They issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate, and their zealous partizans obeyed with the utmost alacrity.

The king, on his part, was not idle. To the ordinance of the parliament concerning the militia, he opposed his commissions of array; and the counties obeyed one or other as they stood affected. The splendour of the court greatly exceeded the appearance at Westminster. About forty peers of the first rank attended the king, whilst the house of lords seldom consisted of more than sixteen members. Many members of the lower house had likewise absented themselves. The county of York levied a guard for the king of 600 men. The queen, who, apprehensive of danger, on account of her religion, had left the kingdom, was enabled, by disposing of the crown jewels in Holland, to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition. The parliament offered conditions of agreement, but such as amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority. War on any terms was esteemed preferable to so ignominious a peace. Collecting therefore some forces, Charles advanced southward, and at Nottingham he erected his royal standard, the signal of civil war throughout the kingdom.

The

The war commenced with great advantages on the side of the parliament, who were supported by the great body of the people, and by the whole commercial part of the nation. The fleet was entirely subject to their authority; they had seized all the magazines of arms and ammunition; their partizans possessed all the ready money of the kingdom, and made ample contributions to the cause. Their army, to the number of 15000 men, was assembled under the earl of Essex at Northampton; and the king, unable to resist such a force, thought it prudent to retire to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies of his friends in those parts. Here he mustered his forces, and found them amount to 10,000 men. After making a declaration to the army, that he was determined to maintain the protestant religion, to preserve the just privileges of parliament, and to govern according to the laws, he resolved to give battle as soon as possible to the parliamentary army, and directed his march towards the capital, which he knew the enemy would not abandon. The armies met at Edgehill, (October 23.) and a battle was fought with equal loss on both sides. Essex retired to Warwick; the king took possession of Oxford, and afterwards advanced to Reading. The parliament, who had always held the king's preparations in contempt, were alarmed at his near approach, while their own forces lay at a distance, and voted an address for a treaty. The king appointed Windsor as the place for receiving their proposals. Meanwhile Essex had arrived at London, and being joined by the train-band of the city, found himself at the head of an army greatly superior to that of the king. After the armies had faced each other for some time, Charles retired to Oxford for the winter.

1643.—Here a negotiation commenced between the king and parliament; but the proposals of the parties were so wide of each other that no agreement was expected. The parliament demanded the abolition of episcopacy, the punishment of the king's adherents, and the disposal of the militia; concessions to which a complete victory alone could entitle them. The first enterprise

terprize of the parliamentary army was the siege of Reading, which, notwithstanding the exertions of the king, was obliged to surrender. The two armies encamped, for some time, in the neighbourhood of each other, and no action of moment happened, except a skirmish, which was rendered memorable by the death alone of the famous Hambden; an event which threw the whole party into greater consternation than if their army had been defeated.

Meanwhile great exertions were made by both parties in different parts of the kingdom. In the north, the earl of Newcastle had united in a league for the king the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Bishopric; and he engaged, some time after, other counties in the same association. Lord Fairfax, who commanded for the parliament, assisted by the garrison of Hull, was making progress in the southern part of Yorkshire. Gloucester, Hereford, and Tewkesbury, were taken by Sir William Waller, one of the generals of the parliament. But, in the west, the king's arms were attended with great success. Some gentlemen having, at their own charges, raised an army for the king in Cornwall, which was well affected to the royal cause, defeated, in an engagement near Stratton, (May 5th), a body of 7000 men, who had been sent against them under the earl of Stamford. Reinforced by a detachment of cavalry, they soon overran the counties of Devon and Somerset; and the parliament sent Sir William Waller with a complete army to check their progress. A pitched battle was fought at Lansdown, (July 5.), with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event. The royalists attempted to march eastward, and to join the king at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and reduced them to great difficulties. A large body of cavalry under Lord Wilmot was sent by the king to their succour: Waller advanced with his cavalry to fight Wilmot, (July 13th), but was totally routed, and escaped with a few horse to Bristol. Wilmot joined his friends, and attacking the enemy's infantry, routed and dispersed the whole army.

Essex, discouraged by this event, retreated nearer to London, with his broken and disheartened forces. The king sent his army westward under prince Rupert, the son of the unfortunate Palatine, a soldier of activity and courage, whom Charles had engaged in his service. The united armies laid siege to Bristol, which was basely surrendered by the cowardice of the governor, Fiennes, after the besiegers had been repulsed in an assault, with great slaughter. It was next resolved, instead of marching to London and attacking the dismayed army of the parliament, as some proposed, to lay siege to Gloucester, the only remaining garrison of the parliament in those parts. Massey, a soldier of fortune, had been appointed governor by the parliament, and was determined to defend it to the last extremity.

The rapid progress of the royal arms threw the parliament into consternation, and many of their partizans began to wish for peace. A combination was entered into by Edmond Waller, the poet, and others, for compelling the parliament to propose more moderate terms of accommodation. But this project being discovered, Waller was fined of 10,000*l*, and some others were executed. The violent party were still determined on war; and great exertions were made to put Essex's army in a condition of relieving Gloucester, which was now reduced to the last extremity. As he approached to that city, with a well appointed army of 14,000 men, the king was obliged to raise the siege; and Essex supplied the garrison with abundance of military stores and provisions. On his return he was attacked by the king's forces at Newbury, (September 2.), and after an obstinate and well fought battle, night parted the combatants. In this battle perished Viscount Falkland, secretary of state, to the great loss of the royal cause, and to the regret of every lover of ingenuity and virtue throughout the kingdom. Next morning Essex pursued his march, and at last reached London in safety. The loss sustained on both sides, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

In the north, during this summer, Oliver Cromwel
and

and Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of Lord Fairfax, two men on whom the event of the war finally depended, began to distinguish themselves and gained several advantages over the royalists. The Marquis of Newcastle, however, had raised a very considerable force for the king, and, though repulsed by a sally of the garrison of Hull, to which he had laid siege, the royal party still remained much superior in those parts of England.

The Scots were connected with the parliament, both by the unity of their religious principles, and by their mutual opposition to the pretensions of the crown: they were jealous of the success of Charles, because they apprehended that, if he once subdued the parliament, he would soon recal those concessions which they themselves had extorted from him. They first offered their mediation between the contending parties; but this Charles declined. As he likewise refused to summon a parliament, the conservators of the peace (an office lately erected for maintaining the confederacy between the two kingdoms) called, in his name, but by their own authority, a convention, under pretence of providing for the national peace, endangered by the neighbourhood of English armies. By the advice of commissioners, whom the English parliament had sent to this assembly, was framed the *solemn league and covenant*, in which the subscribers bound themselves to endeavour, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, together with the king's authority, and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. This covenant the English parliament having subscribed themselves, ordered to be received by all who lived under their authority. The Scottish convention, too, ordered every one to swear to it, under penalty of confiscation. But, what was of more consequence to the parliament, they prepared to carry conviction by the sword; and were ready, about the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of
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their

their old general, the earl of Leven, with an army of 20,000 men.

Though the parliament had been intrusted with the reduction of Ireland, they had paid little attention to this object. Several advantages had been gained over the rebels; but even the victors were reduced to the greatest distress for want of ammunition and provisions. The earl of Ormond, the general of the army, was entirely devoted to the royal cause; and Charles, thinking that a truce with the rebels would greatly forward his affairs in England, ordered him to conclude a cessation of arms for a year, and to send over part of his forces into England.

1644.—The king had hitherto obtained many advantages over the parliament. Yorkshire and all the the northern counties were subjected by the marquis of Newcastle; and, in the west, Plymouth alone resisted the king's authority. But it was evident, from the accession of the Scots to the parliament, and from the difference of the armies employed in this war, that the parliament was daily gaining ground in the contest. The king's troops were full of gentry and nobility, bold and licentious, and under that subordination which discouraged merit. The other army, though at first composed of raw troops, were soon accustomed to discipline; and, on the principles by which they were assembled, easily brought forward the most distinguished men to their chief command. To make preparations for the ensuing campaign, the king summoned a parliament at Oxford of all the members of either house who adhered to him; and this assembly, following the example of the parliament at Westminster, voted an excise on beer and wine. These were the first examples of that impost in England. The forces brought from Ireland were landed in North Wales, and even in winter did some execution; but Sir Thomas Fairfax attacked them with 4000 men, and dissipated or rendered useless that body of forces.

April 11th, A Scots army having summoned the town of Newcastle in vain, passed the Tyne, and faced the

the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of 14,000 men. But that general, hearing of a great defeat of his forces in Yorkshire, retreated, and left the Scots, with some parliamentary forces, to form the siege, or rather blockade of York, where the royalists were shut up. In another quarter prince Rupert relieved the town of Newark, and totally dissipated the army of the parliament. But, though fortune divided her favours between the parties, the king was a considerable loser by the winter campaign; and the vast preparations against him gave him no hopes from the summer. An army of 14,000 men was levied in the east under Manchester and Cromwel. Ten thousand under Essex, and nearly the same number under Waller, were assembled in the neighbourhood of London. Manchester having taken Lincoln, had united his army to those of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. The town was reduced to extremity, though defended by Newcastle with great bravery. Prince Rupert hastened to its relief with 20,000 men. On his approach, the parliamentary generals raised the siege, and drawing up on Marston moor, waited for the royalists. Rupert having safely joined his forces to the besieged, determined, contrary to the advice of Newcastle, to give them battle. This action was obstinately disputed between the most numerous armies which were engaged during these wars. The royalists were defeated, and York in a few days surrendered to the victors. While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and ability. Part of Waller's army were routed by the king at Cropredy-bridge, and the rest melted away by desertion. Essex retreated into Cornwall; and his army, cooped up by the king and prince Maurice, surrendered their arms and baggage. Essex and some of the officers escaped in a boat to Plymouth; and the parliament, agreeable to their wise and magnanimous conduct, voted him their thanks for his fidelity and courage. His dismissed troops were soon armed, and Manches-

ter and Cromwel were ordered to join them and offer the king battle. October 27th, They attacked Charles at Newbury, and it was the coming on of night alone which prevented his total overthrow. The king, leaving his baggage and cannon in Dennington castle, retreated to Oxford. There prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton joined him with considerable bodies of cavalry. With this reinforcement he advanced towards the enemy, and, in the face of superior forces, brought off his cannon; thereby recovering the honour which he had lost at Newbury, and exciting animosities between Cromwel and Manchester; the former having advised to attack the king in his retreat, and finish the war at one blow.

The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first taken shelter under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now appeared as a distinct party, and betrayed different views and pretensions. Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwel, Nathaniel Fionnes, and Oliver St John, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. Although inferior in point of numbers and influence, they were ready to lay hold on any favourable occasion to propagate their levelling system by craft and dissimulation. The quarrel betwixt Manchester and Cromwel pushed them to the execution of their designs. It was carried by the independents in parliament, that a solemn fast should be appointed to implore the divine assistance. The preachers, after many political prayers, ascribed the divisions in parliament to the members holding commands in the army, and profitable offices in the state. Sir Harry Vane told the commons next day, that if ever God appeared to him, it was in the holy ordinances of yesterday. Cromwel acted his part in this scene of hypocrisy; and a committee was chosen to frame what they called the *self-denying ordinance*, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments. It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. Cromwel was continued in his command by subtilty, and, by that political craft for which he was so eminent.

ment. When the other officers resigned their commissions, he took care to be with the army; and Fairfax afterwards begged with much earnestness that the parliament would allow lieutenant-general Cromwell to serve that campaign.

During this important transaction, the negotiations for peace were carried on, though with small hopes of success. Sixteen commissioners on the part of the king, with twelve from the parliament, attended by the Scots commissioners, met at Uxbridge. The parliamentary commissioners demanded that the power of the sword should be entrusted to persons of their nomination for seven years; that the war in Ireland should be given entirely to the management of the parliament; that, after the conquest, the lord-lieutenant and the judges should be of their appointment; that the court of wards in England should be abolished; and that all the considerable officers of the crown, and all the judges, should be appointed by parliament. After canvassing those and other points of difference for twenty days to no purpose, they separated and returned; those of the parliament to London, and those of the king to Oxford. A little before this fruitless treaty, a deed was executed by the parliament, which proved their determined resolution to yield nothing. This was an act of their legislative authority, after they found they had no reasonable grounds of prosecution against archbishop Laud, in consequence of which this aged prelate was brought to the scaffold. He was the most favoured minister of the king; and, though he had conducted his schemes not with the enlarged sentiments and cool disposition of a legislator, yet it is sufficient for his vindication to observe that his errors were similar to those of his time, and even the most excusable of those which generally prevailed.

1645.—While the king's affairs declined in England, some events happened in Scotland which seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel. The earl of Montrose, who had acted for some time under the covenanters, was induced by the

civilities of the king, when commissioned to wait on him at Berwick, to return to his allegiance. After triumphing over the timid councils of the duke of Hamilton, he prepared with great zeal and activity to revive the drooping spirits of the royalists in Scotland. He stipulated with the earl of Antrim for a supply of forces from Ireland; and no sooner were they arrived, though only amounting to 1100 men, than he entered on that scene of action which has immortalized his name. About 800 of the men of Athole flocked to his standard; 500 levied by the covenanters joined the royal cause; and with these forces he hastened to attack lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with 6000 men. Having received the fire of the enemy, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, and obtained a complete victory.

This victory augmented his renown, without increasing his numbers. Dreading the power of Argyle, he marched northwards, and gained another battle over the lord Burley, who commanded a force of 25,000 men at Aberdeen. He next eluded the earl of Argyle, who had followed him to Badenoch; and, with a reinforcement of the M'Donell's, let loose on Argyle's country the whole rage of war. Argyle, with 3000 men, lay at Inverlochy. The earl of Seaforth with a powerful army pressed the royalists on the other side. Montrose, in the most imminent danger, by a quick and unexpected march, presented himself before the covenanters. Argyle, seized with a panic, left his army, who gave battle to the royalists, and were defeated with great slaughter. The council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montrose's progress, sent two officers of reputation, Baillie and Urrey, with a considerable army against the royalists. These, having divided their forces, were separately defeated by Montrose in two pitched battles; and, by these victories, the affairs of the king wore a pretty good aspect in the north. Meanwhile the new modelling of the parliamentary army had been carried into complete execution by Fairfax and Cromwel; and there every where appeared, both among the officers and men, the most

most excessive devotion. On the opening of the campaign, the king, who lay at Oxford with the princes Rupert and Maurice, and an army of 15,000 men, formed the project of relieving Chester; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The king having effected his purpose, laid siege to Liecester, and took it by storm. This success made Fairfax march towards the king to offer him battle. Instead of waiting for Gerard, who lay in Wales with 3000 men, the impetuosity of Rupert hurried on the action at Naseby, when, after a bloody conflict, the forces of the parliament gained the victory. The slain on the side of the parliament exceeded those on the side of the king; but Fairfax made 4000 prisoners, 500 of them officers, and took all the king's artillery and ammunition. After the battle, the king retreated with a body of horse which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny.

July 10th, On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised, the royalists retired to Lampport, where Fairfax attacked them, killed 300 men, and took 1400 prisoners. After this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, and entering the outer town by storm, the governor immediately capitulated; and the garrison, amounting to 2600 men, were made prisoners of war. The next enterprise of moment was the siege of Bristol, which, from the character of Rupert the governor, and the strength of the place, was deemed of the last importance. But a poorer defence was not made by any town during the war; and the king was so full of indignation when he heard of the capitulation, that he recalled all prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea. The king's affairs went now fast to ruin in all quarters; all the middle counties were in a short time reduced to obedience under the parliament. Fairfax defeated the royalists at Torrington; and pursuing the cavalry into Cornwall, enclosed them at Truro, and obliged the whole body, consisting of 5000, to surrender on terms. Montrose had still continued successful in Scotland; the covenanters were

totally, defeated by him at Kilsyth; Edinburgh had surrendered to him, and his prosperity had gained him powerful assistance from many of the Scottish nobles; but, advancing farther to the south, he engaged David Lesley, who was detached from the army in England, and after a sharp conflict, where Montrose exerted the most heroic valour, his forces were routed at Philiphaugh in the forest. After all these repeated disasters, there remained only one body of troops on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Astley, with 3000 men, marching to Oxford to join the king, was met at Stowe by colonel Morgan, and utterly defeated, himself being taken prisoner: "You have done your work," said Astley to the parliamentary officers, "and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves."

1646.—Having lost all hopes of prevailing over the parliament by arms or by treaty, the only resource which remained to the king consisted in the dissensions between the presbyterians and independents. The former were least averse to regal authority, but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy; the latter were resolutely bent to lay the foundations of a republican government. The questions arising out of these principles, both with regard to civil and religious matters, agitated the whole kingdom; and the king entertained hopes of reaping advantage from these divisions. Meanwhile Fairfax was approaching with a powerful army, and was taking the proper measures to lay siege to Oxford. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure which was first suggested to him by Montreville the French minister, and rendered of probable success, by the hatred which the Scots bore to the independents, namely, of flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. The Scottish generals affected great surprise at the appearance of the king, instantly put a guard on him, under colour of protection, but made him in reality a prisoner. They required him to issue out orders to Oxford and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the

the parliament; and the king, sensible that their resistance was to very little purpose, willingly complied. The parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the king, of a similar nature to those which were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. Charles said, that proposals which introduced such important innovations in the constitution, demanded time for deliberation. But what the parliament was most intent upon, was the treaty with the Scotch nation; two important points remained to be settled with them; their delivery of the king, and the estimation of their arrears. After many discussions, it was agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of 400,000 pounds; and the king was delivered up to English commissioners, who conducted him under a guard to Holmby, in the county of Northampton. Thus the Scots nation underwent, and still undergo the reproach of selling their king, and bargaining their prince for money.

1647.—The dominion of the parliament was of very short duration. Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the Presbyterians began to talk of dismissing the army, and proposed to embark a strong detachment, under Skippon and Massey, for the service of Ireland. The army had small inclination for this service, and still less to disband and renounce that pay, which, as the officers were raised from the dregs of the people, was their only means of subsistence. The payment of their arrears was the pretence for the first commotions. A petition, addressed to Fairfax the general, was handed about, desiring an indemnity, satisfaction in arrears, and pay till disbanded. The parliament, to check this combination in its first appearance, immediately voted this petition illegal. This was complained of in the army, as depriving them of the rights of Englishmen; and an application to parliament, complaining of this grievance, was signed by near two hundred officers. The parliament resolved to preserve their dominion, sent Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head quarters at Saffron Weldon in Essex; and empowered

them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its distempers. These very generals were the authors of all the discontents, and failed not to foment those disorders. By their suggestion, a military parliament was formed, composed of two agitators from each troop, together with a council of the principal officers, in imitation of the house of peers. The parliament made one vigorous effort more, to try the force of their authority; they voted that all the troops which did not engage for Ireland should be disbanded in their quarters. At the same time the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments to provide for their common interests.

While they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow which at once decided the victory. This was bringing the king to the camp, performed by one Joyce, an active agitator in the army, who acted in this business under the direction of Cromwel without any orders from the general. This artful conspirator conducted himself, at this critical period, with the most profound dissimulation. At every intelligence of disorder in the army, he wept bitterly, and advised every violent measure to suppress the mutiny; he took heaven and earth to witness that his attachment to the parliament had rendered him odious in the army. But information being brought, that the most violent officers and agitators were entirely his creatures, the leaders resolved that next day he should be sent to the tower. Cromwel informed of this design, hastened to the camp, where he was received with joy, and invested with supreme command, both of the general and army.

The parliament, though at present defenceless, were possessed of many resources. An army of 5000 men lay in the north, under the command of general Pointz, a presbyterian. The forces destined for Ireland were deemed faithful to them. Many garrisons were commanded by officers of their party; and the Scots were zealous for presbytery and the covenant. But, while these resources lay at a distance, Cromwel

advanced

advanced the army, and arrived in a few days at St Alban's. The army, in their usurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model which the parliament had set them in their usurpations on the crown. Every day they rose in their demands; they named eleven members, the leaders of the presbyterians, whom they charged with high treason; and, to prevent discord, these members begged leave to retire from the house; pretending that the parliament intended to make war on them, they required that all new levies should be stopped; and this demand was complied with. The king was now in a better situation, and began to feel of what consequence he was to both parties. Cromwel courted him on one hand, and allured him with expectations of recovering his dignity, while he was conducting his plan for reducing the parliament; and the parliament, afraid of an accommodation with the army, spoke to him in more respectful terms. The forces in the north under Pointz had mutinied; and, that no resource might be left to the parliament, it was demanded that the militia of London should be changed, and the command restored to the independent leaders. The parliament complied with this demand; but a petition was carried to Westminster by the apprentices of London, and they were obliged to reverse the vote. No sooner was intelligence of this tumult brought to the army, than, under pretence of freeing the parliament from all restraint, they marched to London, and having reduced them to a regular servitude, by quartering regiments in Whitehall and the Meuse, a day of thanksgiving was appointed by the parliament for the restoration of its liberty. The leaders of the army having established their dominion over the parliament and city, ventured to bring the king to Hampton court, where he lived for some time with an appearance of dignity and freedom. The parliament renewed their applications to him, and presented the same conditions they had offered at Newcastle, but he referred them to the proposals of the army. Meanwhile, it was artfully asserted by Cromwel, that
desperate

desperate projects were formed for the murder of the king; and intelligence was daily brought to him of menaces thrown out by the agitators of the army.

These artifices soon operated their intended effect. Charles took the part of suddenly withdrawing himself, though without any concerted or rational scheme for the disposal of his person. Attended by a few of his friends, he arrived first at Tichfield, and afterwards retired to the Isle of Wight, where the governor Hammond was entirely devoted to Cromwel; the king was never guilty of a more imprudent step, or one more agreeable to his enemies. He was now lodged in a place, removed from his partizans, and at the disposal of the army, whether he had voluntarily gone, without reflecting odium on Cromwel, who rejoiced exceedingly in this event. This artful conspirator, being soon master of the parliament, and free from all anxiety with regard to the king's person, soon quelled the disorders which had arisen from the agitators of the army, and in a secret council of the chief officers, it was determined to make the parliament the instrument of bringing the king to justice, and of punishing their sovereign for his pretended mal-administration. Four propositions were sent to him as preliminaries to any treaty; and, as he regarded the pretension as most unusual and exorbitant, that he should make concessions while insecure of any settlement, he refused his assent to them. The republican part of the house pretended to take fire at this refusal, and it was voted that no more addresses should be made to the king. After this, Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his servants and friends, and shut him up in close confinement. The parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not in tranquillity that power which they had obtained with so much violence and injustice: all orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power; commotions were ready to break out in every part of the kingdom; the Scots, violent enemies to independency, prepared to invade England; and seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of
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the river, declared for the king, sailed over to Holland, where the prince of Wales took the command of them.

1448.—Cromwel and the military council prepared themselves with vigour and conduct for defence. The royalists, who had risen in England and Wales, were separately attacked and defeated; and a new fleet was manned and sent out under the command of Warwick to oppose the revolted ships. While the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and began to act with its wonted courage and spirit. A new treaty was entered into with the king, by commissioners sent to Newport in the isle of Wight. He agreed to recal all his former proclamations against the parliament, and acknowledged that they had taken arms in their own defence. He agreed, that, for twenty years, they should retain the power of the militia and army; and that all the great offices under that period should be filled by both houses of parliament. He renounced the power of the wards, and accepted in lieu of it 100,000*l.* a-year; but, though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty. In the dispute on this last article, two of the parliamentary theologians told the king, *that if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would certainly be damned.* It was evidently the interest both of king and parliament to finish their treaty with all expedition. But the terms insisted on were so rigorous, that the king feared no worse from his greatest enemies; and the treaty was spun out to such a length, that the insurrections were every where subdued, and the army had leisure to execute their violent projects. Hamilton having entered England with a numerous, though undisciplined army, durst not join the English royalists, because they had not taken the covenant. The two armies marched together, though at some distance; on account of this error, they were separately attacked and defeated by Cromwel, with 8000 men. This general marching into Scotland,
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joined Argyle, and placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party: the remains of the English royalists had taken refuge in Colchester, where they were besieged by Fairfax, and obliged to surrender at mercy. By their multiplied successes, no enemies remained to the army but the king and parliament. From Cromwel's suggestion, a complaint against the treaty with the king was prepared by the council of officers, and transmitted to the parliament: at the same time, the army advanced to Windsor, and Colonel Eure seized the king's person at Newport, and reduced him to a very strict confinement in Hurst castle. The parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger with which they were menaced; and even, after they were surrounded with the army, they carried, by a majority of 129 against 83, that the concessions made by the king were a foundation for the houses to proceed in settling the kingdom. Next day, Colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house and seized or excluded all the presbyterian members, to the number of 200. This transaction was known by the name of *Colonel Pride's purge*; the subsequent acts of this diminutive parliament retain not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. But the height of all iniquity, the public trial and execution of their sovereign, the odium of which the generals would not take upon themselves, yet remained to complete their infamous proceedings; a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a high court of justice to try his majesty for this new invented treason. This court consisted of 133 persons, but there never met above 70, among whom were Cromwel, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army. The court sat in Westminster-hall. The king, though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch; with great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to their jurisdiction. He per-
sisted

listened in this conduct for three times that he was produced before this court. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. The king's whole behaviour, in this last period of his life, does honour to his memory. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. Three days were allowed him between the sentence and execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion, and in giving advices to his children, who were now admitted to him. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; when he came on the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he was obliged to address the few things he said in his own vindication to the persons about him. When he was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxon called to him, "There is but one stage more, which though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one." "I go, replied the king, from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can take place." At one blow was his head severed from his body. A fresh instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the king's death. Fairfax had employed all his influence with the army to prevent the execution, and even threatened to rescue the king with his own regiment; but Cromwel and Ireton having first signed the warrant, engaged the unwary general in prayer for direction, and, when the fatal blow was struck, Harrison, who had prolonged his doleful cant for this very purpose, insisted that the event was a miraculous answer to their devout supplications. The character of this prince, as that of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his imperfections. To speak the most harshly of him, many of his good qualities were attended with some latent frailty, which, though seemingly inconsiderable, was able, when seconded by the extreme malevolence of his

his fortune, to disappoint them of all their influence; he deserves the epithet of a good rather than a great man. Had he been born an absolute prince, his humanity had rendered his memory precious; had the limitations on the crown been in his time quite fixed, his integrity had made him regard as sacred the boundaries of the constitution. Unhappily in his reign many precedents favoured strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. The king left six children, three sons, and three daughters. The iniquity of his taking off, excited the indignation and astonishment both of his friends and enemies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649.

THE confusion which overspread England after the murder of Charles the first, proceeded as well from the spirit of innovation in the ruling party, as from the dissolution of all authority in the nation. The levellers, the millenarians, the royalists, and the presbyterians, although there was no bond of union among them, were dissatisfied with the present measures. The only solid support of the republican independent faction was the army, consisting of 50,000 men, actuated by a spirit which made it extremely dangerous to that assembly which had assumed the command over it. What alone gave poise to these unsettled humours, was the great influence of Oliver Cromwel. This man, suited to the age in which he lived, though transported to madness with religious extasies, never forgot the political purposes to which they might serve. After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen; but the Scots re-

solved

solved to adhere to monarchy, and proclaimed, on certain conditions, Charles the Second. The state of affairs in Ireland had been for some time in great confusion. But, when the parliament had leisure from the execution of the king, they determined to send assistance to their general, Jones, who was besieged in Dublin by the marquis of Ormond. During the contest of the two parties, the government of Ireland had been an object of intrigue; the presbyterians endeavoured to procure the lieutenancy for Waller, and the independents for Lambert. After the king's death, Cromwel aspired to this command; and his name being proposed in the council of state, he was voted into that important office. The new lieutenant applied himself with his wonted vigilance for this expedition. But it behoved him previously to compose many disorders in England. Numberless were the extravagancies which broke out among the people; and, though the levellers had for a time been suppressed by the audacious spirit of Cromwel, they still continued to propagate their doctrines in the army. About 4000 assembled at Burford, under the command of a seditious leader; and it required the presence of Fairfax and Cromwel to suppress them. Amidst all these disturbances, the steady mind of Cromwel still pursued its purposes. While he was collecting an army of twelve thousand men, he sent a reinforcement of 4000 horse to strengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himself against the marquis of Ormond. By the assistance of these forces, Jones made a successful sally, raised the siege of Dublin, and dissipated Ormond's army. Cromwel soon after arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with mighty shouts and rejoicings. He hastened to Tredegar, into which Ormond had thrown 3000 men. Sensible of the importance of despatch, he took this place by storm, and massacred the whole garrison. The same severity was exercised at Wexford. Every town before which he presented himself now opened its gates; and, in the spring, receiving a reinforcement from England, he obliged Ormond to fly

fly the country, and finished the conquest of Ireland in the space of nine months nearly.

1650.—Meanwhile fortune was preparing for him a new scene of triumph and victory in Scotland. Charles, obliged to leave both Holland and France, had retreated to the isle of Jersey, where his authority was still acknowledged. At this place, Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of estates of Scotland, and informed him of the conditions on which he could be admitted to the exercise of his authority in that kingdom. The terms were, that he would banish from court all excommunicated persons, that he should bind himself to take the covenant, and establish the presbyterian government. The king's friends were extremely divided about the part he should act in this conjunction. But the arguments of those who esteemed it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom from regard to episcopacy, had great influence on Charles; and the account brought him of the fate of Montrose obliged him to grant whatever was demanded of him. Montrose having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France. After the tragical death of his father, Charles renewed his commission of captain general in Scotland. His violent and daring spirit needed but this authority to put him in action. With some troops from Holland and Germany, he made an attempt to raise his former friends in the north for the service of the king. The committee of estates dispatched 4000 men against him, who falling unexpectedly on the royalists, killed the most of them, and took Montrose prisoner. He was treated with the greatest indignity at Edinburgh, carried before the parliament, and condemned to be hanged on a gibbet for three hours, his head to be cut off, and his legs and arms to be struck up in the four chief towns of the kingdom. The magnanimity of his conduct at this period corresponded to the heroism of his whole life. "For my part, (said he), so far from being sorry that my legs and arms are to be sent to four cities of the kingdom, I wish I had limbs enough to be dispersed into all the cities of christendom,

christendom, to remain as testimonies in favour of the cause for which I suffer?" The king, in consequence of his agreement with the Scots commissioners, set sail for Scotland; although he was obliged to sign the covenant before he was permitted to land, yet still the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of his sincerity. His best friends were removed from him, and he found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. All the efforts he made to unite the different parties increased the suspicion of the covenanters, as if he was not entirely their own. So soon as the English parliament saw the probability of an accommodation betwixt the king and the Scots, they prepared for war. It was still expected that Fairfax would continue to act as general on this expedition; but disgusted with the violence of the proceedings, and attached to the covenant, he declined it. A committee of parliament was sent to reason with him, of which Cromwel made one. This ambitious politician, who knew the inflexibility of Fairfax, ventured to solicit him even with tears. It was to no purpose; and Cromwel being declared captain general of all the forces in England, marched into Scotland with 16,000 men. The command of the Scots army was given to Lesly, who entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merse and Lothian every thing which could support the English army. Cromwel not being able to force him to an engagement, retired to Dunbar. Lesly followed him, encamped on the heights of Lammermure, and fortified all the passes leading to Berwick. The English general was reduced to extremity, and would most certainly have fallen into Lesly's hands, if the infatuation of the clergy had not brought on an engagement. As soon as Cromwel saw the Scots camp in motion, he cried, the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hands, gave orders for an attack, and gained an easy and complete victory. Above 3000 men were slain, and 900 taken prisoners.

1651.—The king, tired with the formalities to which he was obliged to submit, made an attempt to join general Middleton, who commanded a body of royalists in the mountains. Although frustrated in this attempt, it procured him better treatment and more authority. So soon as the season would permit, the Scots army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesly, and the king was allowed to join the camp. His army encamped at Torwood, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Cromwel, after trying in vain to bring him to action, sent Lambert over the Firth to cut off the provisions of the Scots army. The general soon followed with his army; and lying at the back of the king, made it impossible for him to keep his post. Charles, reduced to despair, embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. He resolved to march immediately into England, and persuaded the generals to enter into the same views. If Cromwel was guilty of an oversight in leaving the road to England open, he quickly repaired it. He ordered Lambert to invest the king's rear with a body of cavalry, left Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, and followed the king with all possible expedition. Such is the influence of established government, that the commonwealth had authority to raise the militia every where against the king. Charles was disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army; for, when he arrived at Worcester, it was not more numerous than when he left Torwood. In this city, Cromwel fell upon them with 40,000 men, and totally routed the king's army. Charles, after concealing himself one and forty days in England, with great difficulty escaped beyond seas. The battle of Worcester afforded to Cromwel what he called his *crowning mercy*; and he now discovered to his intimate friends the intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands. The parliament, though composed of men who had not that large thought which might qualify them for legislators, were yet fit instruments for vigorous and active measures. England was never at any period so formidable

formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as under the commonwealth. Blake, a man of heroic courage, was sent with a fleet against prince Rupert, to whom the king had given the command of the squadron which deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in the Tagus; and the king of Portugal aiding him to escape, Blake made reprisals on twenty Portuguese ships richly laden, and obliged the king to submit to treat with the republic. All the settlements in America were reduced to obedience. Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the isle of Man, were brought to subjection; and Ireland and Scotland entirely reduced to tranquillity.

1652.—By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the parliament had leisure to look abroad, and the Dutch were the first who felt the force of their arms. After the death of William Prince of Orange they dispatched St John lord chief justice to the Hague, with the romantic idea of forming a perfect coalition between the two republics. The states, unwilling to form a nearer confederacy, offered only to renew the former alliances. St John, disgusted with their refusal, and with his general treatment in Holland, returned to England, and endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two republics.

In the present disposition of mens minds, it was deemed good policy to divert the public attention from domestic quarrels towards foreign transactions. The parliament therefore embraced such measures as they knew would disgust the states. They framed the famous act of navigation, prohibiting any nation to import into England in their own bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. The cruelties of the Dutch at Amboyne were again revived, and other grounds of complaint enlarged on. The states, alarmed at these steps, endeavoured to renew the treaty of alliance, and equipt a fleet of 150 sail. Tromp, an admiral of great renown, with a fleet of 42 sail, fell in with Blake in the road of Dover. An action ensued, in which Blake, though he had only 23 vessels, had the advantage. In another engagement, Blake was wounded,

two

two of his ships taken, and three destroyed. After this victory, Tromp fixed a broom to his main mast, as if resolved to sweep the seas of the English. Great preparations were made in England to wipe off this disgrace. Blake with 80 ships attacked Tromp with 76, took eleven ships of war, killed 2000 men, and made 1500 prisoners. The Dutch trade in the mean time suffered exceedingly from the English privateers. The zealous republicans in the parliament endeavoured to draw every advantage from the war; they set up the fleet in opposition to the army, and insisted on diminishing the national expence by a reduction of its land forces. Cromwel evidently saw that they were resolved to bring him under subordination; and, without scruple or delay, he resolved to prevent them. He first endeavoured to widen the breach between the parliament and army, on the old score of arrears; and, when he was told in a council of officers that the parliament had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, he hastened in a rage to the house with 300 foldiers. These he placed at the door, in the lobby, and on the stairs; he sat down for some time and heard the debates. When the question was ready to be put, he suddenly started up, and stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the parliament, "get you gone, you are no longer a parliament, the Lord has done with you." And having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out last; and, ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodging at Whitehall.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMMONWEALTH. OLIVER CROMWEL.

1652.

OLIVER CROMWEL, in whose hands the dissolution of parliament had left the whole power of three kingdoms, was born, 1599, at Huntingdon, of a good family, though he inherited but a small estate. His genius was found little fitted for the elegant occupations of learning, and he made small proficiency at the university. He even threw himself into a very disorderly course of life; but, of a sudden, he entered into all the rigour of the puritanical party, and was distinguished for his religious habits. Urged by his wants and his devotions, he had formed a party with Hambden to transport himself into New England; and it was an order of council that obliged them to remain at home. From accident and intrigue he was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament; but for two years he was entirely overlooked in the house. He was chiefly fitted to shine in the military profession, and his regiment of horse were under the best discipline, and inspired with the noblest spirit. In proportion to the increase of his authority, his talents seemed always to expand themselves; and he displayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very moment they became necessary. The republicans being dethroned
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by Cromwel, were the party whose resentment he had the greatest reason to apprehend. To sooth the millenarians, who were the most numerous sect among the independants, he, by the advice of his officers, sent summons to a hundred and twenty eight persons of England, to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland, and pretended by his sole deed to devolve upon these persons the whole authority of the state under the name of a parliament. They began with seeking God by prayer, and proceeded to take into consideration the abolition of the clerical function. Learning and the university they deemed heathenish ; the common law a badge of Norman slavery.

Of all the extraordinary schemes adopted by these legislators, they had not leisure to finish any. They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public, and from the ridiculous name, *Praise God Barebone*, of one of the most active members, this assembly is stiled Barebone's parliament. Cromwel, ashamed of this preposterous assembly, hastily dissolved them. The military being now in appearance, as well as in reality, the sole power, Cromwel thought fit to indulge a new fancy. Lambert his creature proposed, in a council of officers, to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a single person. Cromwel was declared protector, and with great solemnity installed in that high office.

During the variety of distracted scenes which the civil government presented in England, the military force was exerted with the utmost vigour, conduct, and unanimity. The English fleet, consisting of an hundred sail, and commanded by Monk, met with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, commanded by Tromp. After a battle of two days, the Dutch, with great loss, were obliged to retire into their harbours. In a few weeks they had repaired and manned their fleet ; and Tromp issued out determined again to fight the victors. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk, and both sides immediately rushed into the combat. Tromp gallantly animating his men, was shot through the heart with a musquet ball. This event

event alone decided the battle in favour of the English. Mean while the negociations of peace were continually advancing; and at length a defensive league was made between the two republics. Each of them agreed to banish the enemies of the other; the honour of the flag was yielded to the English; and 85,000 l. and the island of Polarone in the East Indies, were promised to the East India Company by the Dutch. Both the war and the peace brought credit to Cromwel's administration; but he had occasion to observe the prejudices entertained against his government, by the disposition of the parliament, which he summoned on the third of September. This assembly consisted of 400 members from England, thirty from Scotland, as many from Ireland, and was in all respects a fair representation of the people. The parliament having heard the protector's speech three hours long, and having chosen a speaker, entered into a discussion of that authority, which Cromwel, under the title of protector, had assumed over the nation. The protector now found himself obliged to exact a security from the members, by forcing them to sign a recognition of his authority; and he placed guards at the doors of the house, and allowed none but subscribers to enter.

Being informed that conspiracies were entered into between the members and some officers of the army, the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, where he made them a confused angry harangue, and dismissed them. The royalists observing a general ill will towards Cromwel's government, fancied that every dissatisfied person had embraced their views, and could no longer be retained under subjection. In concert with the king, a conspiracy was entered into by the royalists in England, and a day of general rising appointed. The protector's administration was extremely vigilant; the confederacy was discovered, many of the royalists were thrown into prison; and in one place, where the conspiracy broke out, a troop of horse was able to suppress it. After this, the protector resolved to keep terms no longer with the royal-

ists; he issued an edict, with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; whoever was known to be disaffected, or even lay under suspicion, was exposed to this exaction. Ten military jurisdictions, under as many major-generals, comprehended the whole kingdom of England; the people every where, under pretence of this tenth-penny, were oppressed in the most arbitrary manner. The active disposition of Cromwel, and avidity of extensive glory, made him incapable of repose. No sooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he should invade with his victorious arms. The state of Europe pointed out Spain to him as the weakest, the richest, and the most bigotted empire.

The inquisition had been established in Spain, the rigours of which the Spaniards had refused to mitigate on Cromwel's solicitation. Actuated by the motives of bigotry and interest, the protector equipped two considerable squadrons. One of these, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake. This brave admiral obtained of the duke of Tuscany satisfaction for some losses which the English had sustained from him. He compelled the Dey of Algiers to make peace, and to restrain his piratical subjects from all violences on the English. He made the same demands before Tunis; but the Dey bade him look to the castles of Porte-Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He also sent a numerous detachment of seamen into the harbour, and burnt every ship which lay there.

The other squadron, commanded by Pen, and carrying on board 4,222 men, under the command of Venables, was not equally successful. These commanders, of very incompatible tempers, and at the same time tied down to follow the advice of commissioners, failed in an attempt on the island of Hispaniola, which was the object of their destination, but afterwards were successful in taking possession of Jamaica.

As soon as the news of this enterprise reached Spain,

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war was declared against England, and all the goods and ships of English merchants were seized in the Spanish harbours. Blake having received orders, lay some time off Cadiz in expectation of intercepting the plate fleet, but was obliged for want of water to sail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the coast, took two ships valued at near two millions of peices of eight. The next action against the Spaniards was more glorious, though less profitable to the nation. Blake having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships had taken shelter in the Canaries, instantly made sail towards them. The wind blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spanish ships were consumed with all their treasures. The greatest danger still remained to the English, from the fire of the castles and all the forts, which must in a little time have tore them in pieces; but, the wind suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay. This was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake; he died on his voyage home, within sight of land. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge; but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

It must be acknowledged, that the protector, in his civil and domestic administration, displayed a great regard, excepting in a few instances, to justice and clemency. The sole basis of his power was laid in the army; and in managing them consisted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The more effectually to curb the seditious spirit of the troops, he established a kind of militia with regular pay in the several counties. With the pretended saints of all denominations, he was familiar and easy. He talked spiritually to them, he sighed, he wept, he canted, he prayed. His zeal for the persecuted protestants throughout Europe was highly agreeable, both to the presbyterians and independents. Conspiracies for assassination he was chiefly afraid of; and openly said, that if the first attempt came from his enemies, he had a

abundant means of retaliation. There was no point in which the protector was more solicitous than to procure intelligence ; this article alone, it is said, cost him 600,000 pounds a-year. The general behaviour and deportment of this man was such as might befit the greatest monarch. Among his ancient friends indeed he could relax himself ; and with others he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic buffoonery.

1656.—Under pretence of uniting Ireland and Scotland in one commonwealth with England, he had reduced these kingdoms to a total subjection ; and he treated the former with great severity. The same and success of his administration, both at home and abroad, made him venture to summon a new parliament ; the majority of which, by means of art and violence, were friendly to the protector. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family to the throne ; and, in order to found the inclinations of the house, colonel Jephson ventured to move that the parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwel, and no reluctance was discovered on that occasion. In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he ardently longed, Cromwel sacrificed his major-generals, who had rendered themselves dangerous to him, and odious to the nation.

At last a more formal motion was made by Alderman Pack, for investing the protector with the dignity of king. This motion was opposed by Lambert, a man of great interest in the army ; but the bill was voted by a considerable majority, and a committee was appointed to overcome those scruples which Cromwel pretended against accepting so liberal an offer. This conference, an exact account of which still remains, lasted for several days ; and the elocution of the protector, always confused, seems to be involved in tenfold darkness. Some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded ; and Cromwel, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse the crown.

1657.—The parliament having adjourned itself, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commissions,

sions, and, to the surprise of every body, his authority in the army was found immediately to expire.

1658.—At the next meeting of parliament, the protector removed the guards from the doors of both houses; but finding a decided majority against him, and apprehensive of combinations between the parliament and the malecontents in the army, he dissolved them, with great expressions of anger and resentment. The scheme of foreign politics adopted by the protector was highly imprudent, though suitable to the magnanimity of his temper. He was particularly desirous of conquest on the continent; and 6000 men, whom he sent into Flanders, joined the French army under Turenne, and laid siege to Dunkirk. The Spanish army advancing to relieve it, were totally defeated in the battle of Dunes by the combined armies of France and England. Dunkirk being soon after surrendered, was delivered to Cromwel.

The protector reaped little satisfaction from the success of his arms abroad; the situation in which he stood at home kept him in perpetual uneasiness. His administration exhausted the revenue; the royalists he heard had renewed their conspiracies for a general insurrection. The conspiracy of the millenarians in the army struck Cromwel with great apprehensions of assassinations; he was apprehensive from the zealous spirits which actuated the soldiers; and the want of confidence in his own family deprived him of every possible consolation. All composure of mind was for ever fled from the protector; he found that the grandeur which he had attained with so much guilt and courage could not insure him that tranquillity which belongs to virtue alone and moderation fully to ascertain. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him; he wore armour under his cloaths, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons. His body also, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected, and his health seemed very sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. He

asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true that the elect could never be damned? "Nothing more certain," said the preacher: "Then I am safe," said the protector; "for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace." Meanwhile all the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect; and, though he flattered himself to the last, the physicians were obliged to declare that he could not survive the next fit; the council was alarmed; a deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor, and a simple affirmative in favour of his son Richard was, or seemed to be extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate to him, he expired. His character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity. Cromwell died in the 59th year of his age, and he left two sons and three daughters.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

COMMONWEALTH.

WHEN that potent hand was removed which conducted the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the unwieldy fabric. For some time, however, the public was disappointed in this opinion.
Richard,

Richard, though his manners only fitted him for private life, was acknowledged by the council, by the whole nation, by the fleet, and by the army, (1659.) It was found necessary to call a parliament, to furnish supplies, both for the ordinary administration, and for fulfilling foreign engagements. All the commons signed without hesitation an engagement not to alter the present government; but the opposition was so considerable as to give great alarm to the friends of the young protector. His greatest danger arose from the army; the most considerable officers, Fleetwood his brother-in-law, and Lambert, now roused from his retreat, were entering into cabals against him. Richard imprudently consented to call a council of general-officers, who immediately voted a remonstrance. The parliament, alarmed at the military cabals, voted that there should be no meeting of officers without the protector's consent. The officers hastened to Richard, compelled him to dissolve the parliament; and, by the same act, the protector was considered by every one as dethroned. Soon after he signed his demission in form.

The council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, revived the long parliament which had been expelled by Cromwel; and finding them refractory, they would have entered into some resolution fatal to this assembly, had they not been checked by the apprehensions of danger from the common enemy. A secret reconciliation was made between the royalists and presbyterians, and they agreed to use all efforts for the overthrow of the rump, for so they called this parliament. This combination, which was general, and ripe for execution, was disconcerted by the infidelity of Sir Richard Willis; many of the conspirators were thrown into prison, and the only thing which took effect, was the seizing of Chester by Sir Richard Booth. In this enterprise Booth, a rigid presbyterian, acted in conjunction with the royalists. Lambert was employed to suppress them, which, when he had done, he again turned the army

against the parliament; and the officers were again invested with supreme authority. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, seven of whom were officers; these they pretended to invest with sovereign authority, and called them a committee of safety. The king having in vain applied for foreign succours, his situation seemed totally desperate; but fortune was now paving the way for him to mount the throne of his ancestors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of general Monk that this happy change was at last accomplished. A rivalry had long subsisted between him and Lambert; and, after the army had expelled the parliament, he protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any suspicion, he immediately dismissed; and having summoned an assembly, he communicated his resolution of marching into England, and received from them a small supply of money. Hearing that Lambert was advanced northward with his army, he amused the committee of safety with large professions of his inclinations to peace, and desired to enter into a negotiation at Newcastle. Meanwhile the committee of safety found themselves surrounded with inextricable difficulties; Portsmouth declared for the parliament, as also did admiral Lawson with his squadron, and the regiments near the city of London. Lenthall, the speaker, being invited by the officers, again assembled the parliament, who immediately appointed commissioners for assigning quarters to the army; and, without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to his forces to repair to those garrisons which were appointed them.

1660.—Lambert was now in a very disconsolate condition; Monk, he saw, had passed the Tweed, and was advancing upon him; lord Fairfax had raised forces behind him, and the last orders of the parliament had stripped him of his whole army except 100 horse. Monk, though informed of the restoration of the parliament, still advanced with his army, which

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was near 6000 men, and continued his march with few intervals until he came to St Alban's. He there sent a message to the parliament, desiring them to remove from London those regiments who had lately offered violence to that assembly; and, when this was complied with, Monk and his army took quarters at Westminster. The general was introduced to the house, where he expressed himself with that caution which he had hitherto assumed. It was impossible to discover his intention; but the parliament determined to make an experiment of their own power, and of his obedience. Monk received orders to march into the city, and to seize twelve persons of the common council of London, who refused to pay taxes, except imposed on them by a free parliament, and to remove the posts from the streets, and to break the gates of the city; and these orders were instantly executed. Monk, soon sensible of his mistake, wrote a letter to the house, and requiring them, in the name of the citizens and soldiers, to fix the time for their own dissolution, and the assembling of a new parliament. Having dispatched this letter, he made many apologies to a common council at Guildhall, for the indignity he had been obliged to put upon them, and filled the whole city with the most excessive joy. The parliament, though in the agonies of despair, made still one effort for the recovery of their dominion; they offered to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, but he would not hearken to such wild proposals. The members who were formerly secluded, on the general's invitation, went to the house, and appeared to be the majority; they passed votes for the present composition of the kingdom, dissolved themselves, and gave orders for immediately assembling a new parliament. Notwithstanding all these steps, which were evidently tending towards the re-establishing of monarchy, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and allowed no canal of correspondence between him and the king to be opened. Meanwhile the elections for the new parliament

liament went every where in favour of the king's party; the presbyterians and royalists being united, formed the voice of the nation; and, though some zealous leaders of the former party began to mention conditions, yet the general opinion seemed to condemn all those jealous capitulations with their sovereign. The affairs of Ireland were in a condition no less favourable to the king; but all these promising views had almost been blasted by an untoward accident. Upon the admission of the secluded members, the republican party were seized with the justest despair; they represented to the soldiers that all their brave actions would now be regarded as the deepest crimes; that the loss of all arrears, the cashiering every officer and soldier, were the lightest punishment to be expected. After these suggestions had been infused into the army, Lambert, who had been thrown into the Tower, suddenly made his escape, and threw Monk and the council of state into the greatest consternation. They knew Lambert's activity and popularity in the army. Colonel Ingolby was despatched after him, and took him prisoner before he had assembled any considerable force.

When the parliament met, and had chosen Sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker, the extreme caution of the general kept every one in awe, and no one dared to make mention of the king; at last, the general having sufficiently founded the inclinations of the house, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his Majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons: the loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence; a committee was appointed to prepare an answer; and the people, freed from that state of suspense in which they had been so long held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixed effusions of joy. The lords perceiving the spirit by which the kingdom was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority. The two houses attended,

tended, while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity in the palace-yard at White-hall, and at Temple-bar. A committee of lords and commons was despatched to invite his Majesty to return and take possession of his dominions. The king entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was also his birth day.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CHARLES II. 1660

CHARLES II. when he ascended the throne of his ancestors, was thirty years of age. No prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumstances, or was more blessed with the cordial affection and attachment of his subjects. The most eminent men of the nation, whether presbyterians or loyalists, were admitted into his council. Before his restoration, the king had promised an indemnity to all criminals, but such as should be excepted by the parliament. The lords, inflamed with the ill usage which they had received, were resolved, besides the late king's judges, to except every one who had sat in any high court of justice. So wide an exception gave a general alarm; but, at the earnest and repeated solicitations of the king, the act of indemnity, with the exception of those only who had an immediate hand in the king's death, passed both houses, and received the royal assent. The next business was the settlement of the king's revenue. In place of the tenor of wards and liveries, they granted him 100,000*l.* a year; and half of the excise was the fund whence that revenue should be levied. Tonnage and poundage, and the other half of the excise in Scotland, was granted to the king during

ring life. They voted that the settled revenue of the crown for all charges should be 1200,000*l.*; but they assigned not any funds which could yield two-thirds of that sum. Having proceeded so far in the settlement of the nation, the parliament adjourned themselves for some time. During the recess, six of the late king's judges were tried and executed. After two months the parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national settlement; they established several articles of revenue, granted arrears for paying and disbanding the army; and, after they had sat near two months, the king thought proper to dissolve them. Notwithstanding the caution of the parliament, it is reported that Popham undertook to procure from them a grant of 2000,000*l.* a-year land-tax during the king's life. Clarendon, the lord chancellor, showed his prudence no less than his integrity in entirely rejecting it. The chancellor, from the same principles of conduct, hastened to disband the army; no more troops were retained than a few guards in garrisons, 1000 horse, and 4000 foot. Most circumstances in Clarendon's administration have met with applause; his maxims alone in the conduct of ecclesiastical politics have by many been deemed the effect of narrow prejudices. The commons had wisely postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left entirely the settlement of the church to the king, and to the ancient laws. Great moderation was at first used in the exercise of this power; but it was far from the intention of the ministry to preserve terms with the presbyterians; and the madness of the fifth monarchy men, who, to the number of sixty, raised a disturbance in London, afforded them a pretence. The forces were disbanded in Scotland; and, by the abrogating all laws which had passed since the year 1633, prelacy was thereby tacitly restored. The king and his ministers, contrary to the advice of Lauderdale, resolved to establish it in form; a measure afterwards attended with great inconveniences. After such a bloody and triumphant rebellion, some examples seemed necessary, and the marquis

quis of Argyle, and one Guthry, a seditious preacher, were pitched on as the victims. The parliament was reduced to such a servile state of complacence, as to pass sentence on Argyle, and he died with great constancy and courage. They voted an additional revenue to the king of 40,000 pounds a-year, to be levied by way of excise. An act was also passed, declaring the covenant to be unlawful, and its obligation void and null.

In England the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished, by the lenity and equality of Charles's administration. Several conferences were held to accommodate the differences between the presbyterians and the prelatists, but without success. Ministry were against any accommodation; and they were the more confirmed in this disposition, by the appearance of a great majority of royalists and zealous church-men in the new parliament. This assembly passed an act for the security of the king's person, annulled the covenant, restrained the abuses of petitioning, and restored the bishops to their former dignity in the house of peers. After an adjournment of some months, the parliament was again assembled, and proceeded in the same spirit as before; they relinquished all pretensions to the power of the sword, and acknowledged that neither one house, nor both houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military authority. They found a remedy for the violence which had been, during the usurpation, introduced into corporations, by empowering the king to appoint commissioners for expelling all magistrates who professed principles dangerous to the constitution; and this was called the corporation act.

1662.—The care of the church was no less prevalent with this parliament than that of monarchy; and the bill of uniformity placed the church in the same condition in which it stood before the civil wars. But, while the commons were establishing those high principles of monarchy, they were not forward to grant concessions of real power or revenue to the king. Before this parliament rose, they gave their

their consent to the king's marriage with Catherine of Portugal, a princess of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her person or humour, to make herself agreeable to the king. The festivity of these espousals was clouded by the trial and execution of Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey, three regicides who had been apprehended in Holland. Vane and Lambert were brought to trial by this parliament. The former was sentenced and executed; the latter, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar, and survived this transaction thirty years.

By the act of uniformity, the clergy were obliged either to relinquish their livings, or to sign the articles required of them. The terms of subscription had been made very rigid, on purpose to disgust all the zealous among the presbyterians; and about 2000 of the clergy relinquished their cures in one day.

1663.—The next measure of the king, namely, the sale of Dunkirk for 400,000 pounds to the French, is considered as one of the greatest mistakes if not blemishes of his reign. The king floted during his whole reign between irreligion, which he more openly professed, and popery, to which he retained a secret propensity, while his brother, the duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity; and, under shelter of their name, a declaration was issued to mitigate the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. The parliament, who sat a little after the declaration was issued, could by no means be satisfied with this measure. The declared intention of easing the dissenters, and the secret purpose of favouring the catholics, were equally disagreeable to them; and, in order to deprive the latter of all hopes, the two houses concurred in a remonstrance against them. The opposition which Clarendon made to the king, in the instance of the catholics, and an inviolable rule never to enter into any connection with the royal mistresses, made his credit decline at court. Though the king's conduct had hitherto been, in the
main,

main, laudable, men of penetration began to observe that his virtues had greater show than solidity. His conduct towards the cavaliers was justly blamed; and, with regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, it was universally said that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHARLES II. 1664.

THE next session of parliament discovered a continuance of the same principles which had actuated all the foregoing. They repealed the triennial act, and satisfied themselves with a general clause, "That parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at most." A vote was likewise passed, that the wrongs and dishonours offered to the English by the subjects of the United Provinces were the greatest obstruction to all foreign trade. This was the first open step towards a Dutch war. The duke of York, eager to distinguish himself, and fond of commerce, pushed the war with Holland. Downing, the English minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the States, containing a list of those depredations which the English complained of; but, what is remarkable, they preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of alliance had been renewed with the Dutch, in which these complaints were not mentioned. Charles despatched Sir Robert Holmes to the coast of Africa with twenty-two ships, where he expelled the Dutch from Cape

Corse.

Corse, seized the settlements of Cape Verde, and the isle of Goree; and, having failed to America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York. The Dutch secretly despatched orders to De Ruyter, who was returning with a fleet from the Mediterranean, to sail to the coast of Guinea, and retaliate on the English; he retook all their new acquisitions except Cape Corse.

Meanwhile the English preparations for war were advancing with great vigour, and the parliament voted near two millions and a-half to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The Dutch tried every art of negotiation before they would come to extremity, but resolving to yield no point of consequence, made great preparations. As soon as certain intelligence arrived of De Ruyter's enterprise, Charles declared war against the States. His fleet, consisting of one hundred and fourteen sail, with 20,000 men on board, commanded by the duke of York, defeated the Dutch under Obdam, pursued them to their harbours, took and sunk nineteen of their ships. The happy genius of De Wit, who himself entered on board the fleet, served to revive the spirits of the Dutch under their misfortunes, and called forth their allies the kings of France and Denmark to their assistance. The bishop of Munster was the only ally Charles could acquire; and an ill concerted attack on the provinces was the only advantage he reaped from this ally. (1666.) After France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force, yet she lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able to prevent their junction. This circumstance, however, turned rather to her prejudice. When Monk, now duke of Albemarle, heard that Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort to sail from Toulon with forty ships, he had authority enough to detach prince Rupert with twenty ships of the English fleet to oppose the duke. He, with the remainder of the fleet, consisting of 54 vessels, set sail to give battle to the Dutch. This sea fight continued for four days; in the first day, Sir William Berkley fell into
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the thickest of the enemy, and his ship was taken; the second day the combat became more steady, and more terrible; sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action; and the English fleet, reduced to twenty-eight fighting ships, were obliged to retreat towards their own coast. Next morning the English continued their retreat; the shattered ships were ordered to strike a-head; sixteen of the most entire followed, and Albemarle himself closed the rear, presenting an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. About two o'clock, when the Dutch were ready to renew the fight, prince Rupert arrived with his fleet; and next morning the English determined to face the enemy. The battle was continued with great violence till the fleets were separated by a mist, and the English retired first into their harbours. To facilitate the junction of the French fleet, De Ruyter posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack; the fleets on each side were about eighty sail. The Dutch van was entirely routed; and next day the high spirit of De Ruyter was obliged to submit to a retreat, which he conducted with a skill equally honourable to himself as a victory. "My God," he frequently cried, "what a wretch am I! Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life!"

While the war continued, a fire breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, London, laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. Three days and nights did the fire advance, and it was only by the blowing up of houses that it was at length extinguished. The parliament met soon after, and made an inquiry concerning the fire, which, though it brought out no proofs to fix on the papists the burning of London, yet the general aversion against that sect still prevailed, and complaints were made of its dangerous increase.

1667.—Charles, at the desire of the commons, issued out a proclamation for the banishment of all priests and Jesuits; but the bad execution of this ed-

dict

did destroyed all confidence in his sincerity. The symptoms of ill humour tended to quicken the steps which were making towards a peace with foreign enemies. The conferences were held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, and almost every thing was adjusted, except some disputes with regard to the isle of Plerone. The reasons on both sides seemed to require a long discussion, and it was agreed to transfer the treaty to Breda. De Wit protracted the negotiations, and hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under De Ruyter. Sheerness was soon taken. Having the advantage of a spring tide, and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on, broke the chain on the Medway, sunk three ships, and advancing with six men of war as far as Upnow castle, they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. They afterwards made fruitless attempts on Portsmouth and Plymouth, insulted Harwich, and sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed.

The signing the treaty at Breda extricated the king from his present difficulties; and the acquisition of New York was the chief advantage which the English reaped from this war. To appease the indignation of the people by some sacrifice, seemed requisite before the meeting of parliament, and the prejudices of the nation plainly pointed out Clarendon as the victim. He was dismissed from his high offices, and a charge was carried up to the peers containing an accusation of treason; the chancellor perceiving that a defence in his circumstances would not be regarded, retired beyond seas. Both houses passed a bill of banishment and incapacity against Clarendon, which received the royal assent. He was always a friend to the liberty and constitution of his country.

1668.—The next expedient which the king embraced to acquire popularity, is much more deserving of praise; it is the triple alliance, a measure which gave entire satisfaction to the public. When Lewis XIV. espoused the Spanish princess, he had renounced every title of succession to every part of the Spanish monarchy;

monarchy ; but, on the death of Philip IV. his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciations, and pretended that the queen of France, by the customs of some parts of Brabant, even to the exclusion of her brother, had a right to the dominion of that important duchy. A claim of this nature was more properly supported by military force than by argument. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with 40,000 men ; the towns of the Spaniards fell into his hands as soon as he presented himself before them, and there was no force in the Low Countries able to retard the progress of the French arms. All Europe, but especially the United Provinces, were alarmed at this success. Charles resolved with great prudence to take the first step towards a confederacy ; Sir William Temple, his resident at Brussels, having received orders, went secretly to the Hague to concert with the States the means of saving the Netherlands : and finding in the pensionary De Wit a man of the same generous and enlarged sentiments with himself, a treaty was negotiated between these two statesmen, with the same cordiality as it were a private affair transacted between two intimate companions. An offer which Lewis had made to relinquish all the queen's rights, on condition either of keeping his conquests, or receiving Franche-Comté, Cambray, Aire, and St Omer's in lieu of them, was the foundation of this treaty. England and the United Provinces were to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. Room had been left in the treaty for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained. The French monarch was extremely displeased with this measure, and the court of Madrid showed equal displeasure. Plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix la Chapelle. Spain, pressed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered ; but, sensible of the interested views of the States, the queen-regent of Spain chose to recover the province of Franché-Compte, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the campaign.

Charles,

Charles, from his aversion to business, had entrusted the affairs of Scotland to his ministers, particularly Middleton, and these made violent stretches of authority. An act of indemnity passed; but, at the same time, it was voted that all those who had offended during the late disorders, should be subjected to fines. A list was made out in a secret committee, without any consideration of men's estates, or of their degrees of guilt; and the fines would have been rigorously exacted, if the king had not obliged the ministers to compound for the half. But the chief circumstance, whence all the subsequent disorders in Scotland were derived, was the execution of the laws for the establishment of episcopacy. All the members who had been admitted on the election of the kirk-session, and lay-elders, were appointed to receive a presentation from the patron, and to be instituted anew by the bishop. Three hundred and fifty parishes were at once made vacant by this act. Affairs, however, remained in a peaceable situation, until the Scots parliament passed a severe act against conventicles. This was put in force by the licentious method of quartering soldiers on the delinquents. The king was touched with the state of the country, and gave orders to remedy the disorders; but, before these could be executed, the people, irritated by ill usage, rose in arms. They were attacked, and easily defeated, by Dalziel at Pentland hills. The king's ministers, particularly Sharpe, took severe vengeance on the prisoners, but the king himself put a stop to the executions.

The settlement of Ireland was a work of much greater difficulty than that of England or of Scotland. Almost all the valuable parts of Ireland had been parcelled out to adventurers, who had lent money to the parliament, or to the soldiers for arrears; and it required the steady hand of the duke of Ormond to compose the jarring interests of the ancient and present proprietors. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a third part of their possessions; and, except in a violent act passed by the English parliament, prohibiting

prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England, the affairs in Ireland wore a very favourable aspect.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHARLES II. 1668.

THE poverty of the crown since the restoration, although it rendered the administration in many cases languid, was the only thing to insure happiness and liberty to the nation. (February 8.) The parliament met after a long adjournment; and, after refusing a scheme to reconcile the presbyterians by comprehension, and to grant a toleration to other sectaries, they were prevailed with to vote the king only 310,000*l.* after which they were adjourned.

1670.—We now come to a period when the king's councils became during some time remarkably weak, or even criminal. The committee of council established for foreign affairs, consisting of prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, secretary Trevor, and lord-keeper Bridgeman, was entirely changed. The whole secret was entrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, known by the appellation of the cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compose. The dark councils of the cabal were not thoroughly known but by the event; they seemed to have been calculated to instil into the minds of the king and the duke great apprehension of danger from the authority of parliament;

parliament; the necessity of subduing the United Provinces, and the importance of an alliance with France. But the king's resolutions seemed never to have been entirely fixt till the visit which he received from his sister the duchess of Orleans. By her artifices and careffes she prevailed on Charles to relinquish the most settled maxims of honour and policy, and to finish his engagement with Lewis for the destruction of Holland. The satisfaction he reaped from his new alliance received a great check by the death of his sister, which was even supposed to have happened by poison from her husband. Charles, instead of breaking with France upon this accident, took advantage of it to send over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in reality to concert farther measures for the projected war. The States were alarmed; but what tended chiefly to open their eyes, was the sudden recal of Sir William Temple. While these measures were secretly in agitation, the parliament met according to adjournment. The king made a short speech, and left the business to be enlarged on by the keeper. That minister insisted much on the king's great want of supply, the increase of the French navy, and the obligation which the king lay under by the triple alliance, to exert himself for the common good of Christendom. The artifice succeeded; the house of commons were never more in a humour to grant liberal supplies, and never was their liberality less merited by the councils of a king.

1671.—In settling the affairs of Ireland, an insurrection, in which one Blood was very active, was suppressed by the vigilance of the duke of Ormond. Blood had escaped into England, and about this time he endeavoured to assassinate the duke in the streets of London. He got possession of his person; but studying refinement in his cruelty, he mounted him behind one of his companions in order to hang him at Tyburn. They were advanced a good way into the fields, when the duke was rescued by his servants. A little after Blood formed a design of carrying off the

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crown

crown and regalia from the Tower, and was very near succeeding; he had got out of the Tower with his prey, but was overtaken and seized with some of his associates. This extraordinary person was, at the king's desire, brought into his presence; and he so gained on him, by the intrepidity of his manner, that he not only gave him a pardon, but granted him an estate of 500*l.* a-year, and encouraged his attendance about his person.

Another incident happened this year, which infused a very general displeasure, and still greater apprehensions into all men. The duchess of York died in the open profession of the Romish religion, and the duke now declared his attachment to the church of Rome.

Meanwhile Temple was declared to be no longer ambassador to the states; and Downing, their inveterate enemy, was sent over in his place, who, as well as the English court, eagerly laid hold on every ground of quarrel against them. Every step which Charles took in this affair became a proof to all men of penetration, that the present war was intended against the liberties of his own subjects, even more than against the Dutch themselves. Long and frequent prorogations were made of the parliament, which, while they freed the king from its importunity, prevented him from procuring money for his military preparations. It seemed as yet premature to venture on levying money without consent of parliament; and therefore the king, at the instigation of Clifford, fell on the expedient of shutting up the exchequer, whither banker's usually carried their money, and retaining all the payment which should be made into it. By this act the bankers stopt payment, and a general stagnation of commerce took place, by which the public was universally affected. Another measure of the court, though laudable in itself, was a strong instance of arbitrary and dangerous councils. This was a proclamation issued by the king, suspending the penal laws enacted against all non-conformists. At the same time, the act of navigation was suspended by royal will and pleasure, and a proclamation issued, containing very rigorous laws with

with regard to pressing. Foreign transactions kept pace with these domestic occurrences. Before the declaration of war, Sir Robert Holmes received orders to attack the Dutch Smyrna fleet; and, after endeavouring, under an amicable appearance, to decoy the admiral to come on board of him, he attempted to take possession of the fleet; but, by the prudence and skill of the Dutch commanders, almost the whole of them reached their own harbours in safety. Immediately after this treacherous attempt, war was declared in form against the states on the most frivolous pretences. The French king followed his declaration with an army of more than 75,000 men, under Conde and Turenne, the most renowned generals of the age.

De Wit, believing that the English would never act so contrary to their interest as to depart from the triple alliance, had not prepared proper means of defence. By continued application to commerce, the people were become very unwarlike, and confided for their defence in their mercenary army. And to complete their misfortune, every scheme for defence was opposed, and every project retarded, by the struggle for superiority, between the factions adhering to the prince of Orange and De Wit, the leaders of the two parties. It had always been the maxim of De Wit's party to cultivate naval affairs with extreme care; and the equipment of the fleet was now hastened, in hopes that, by striking a successful blow, courage might be inspired into the states, and de Wit's declining authority supported.

Actuated by like motives, De Ruyter put to sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of 91 ships of war, and 44 fire ships. The English fleet, under the command of the Duke of York, joined with the French under Marechal d'Erees, lay at Soleby in a very negligent posture. On the first appearance of the enemy, Sandwich, an experienced commander, who led the van, hastened out of the bay, and, by this wise measure, evidently saved the combined fleets. He killed Van Ghent the Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship. He sunk another ship which ventured to lay

him aboard. He sunk three fire ships which endeavoured to grapple with him; the fourth was more successful, and this brave commander perished along with his ship. During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, De Ruyter attacked the Duke of York; the fight was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. It brought great honour to the Dutch to have fought with some advantage the combined fleet; but nothing less than a complete victory could serve the purpose of De Wit, or save his country from the calamities which threatened it.

Lewis advanced with great rapidity, took Wessel, Burik, Emerik, and Rhemberg, in a few days, passed the Rhine, and made himself master of three provinces, Guelderland, Overysfel, and Utrecht. The only difficulty lay in Holland, whither the prince of Orange had retired with his small army, and in Zealand. The people throughout all the republic, instead of acting nobly for their defence, laid their misfortunes to the charge of their own unhappy minister. The states of Holland met to consider whether any means were left to save the remains of their distressed commonwealth; and ambassadors were despatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. The terms proposed by Lewis bereaved the republic of all security against any land invasion from France. Those demanded by Charles exposed them equally by sea to an invasion from England; and, when both were joined, they appeared absolutely intolerable, and reduced the Hollanders to the utmost despair. In consequence of this situation, the populace rose in arms, and in the most shocking manner massacred De Wit, and his brother Cornelius. The massacre of the De Wits put an end for the time to the remains of their party; and William prince of Orange now bent all his efforts against the public enemy. He showed them that their resources were not failed, and reminded them of the generous valour of their ancestors. The spirit of the young prince infused itself into all his hearers. They determined to defend those last remains of their native soil;

soil ; or, if the ground should fail them, they were resolved to fly to the Indies, and preserve alive that liberty of which Europe was become unworthy. The combined princes finding at last some opposition, bent all their efforts to seduce the prince of Orange. The sovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him, but he generously rejected all their proposals. When Buckingham asked him whether he did not see that the commonwealth was ruined ? *There is one certain means*, replied the prince, *by which I shall never see my country's ruin ; I will die in the last ditch.* Charles, even after the advancement of his nephew, still persisted in his alliance with France ; and the combined fleets, with an English army on board, approached the coast of Holland. An unusual tide carried them off the coast ; and providence seemed to have interposed to save the republic. The other nations of Europe, afraid of the ambition of the French king, showed a disposition to take part with the states ; but there was no ally on whom the Dutch more depended than the parliament of England, which the king's necessities at last obliged him to assemble. Before the commons entered on business, there lay before them an affair which discovered the arbitrary projects of the king. In the case of some vacancies in the house of commons, the chancellor, instead of the house, had issued out writs for the new elections. The house was no sooner assembled, than all such elections were declared null ; and new writs, in the usual form, were issued by the speaker.

To supply his majesty's extraordinary occasions, they granted him eighteen months assessment, at the rate of 70,000 l. a-month. A remonstrance was immediately formed against that exercise of prerogative by which the king granted indulgence to the non-conformists. Charles defended his measure, but was at length obliged to comply with the commons ; and he broke the seals of the declaration with his own hands.

Shaftesbury, when he saw the king recede at once from so capital a point, concluded that all the schemes for enlarging royal authority were vanished ; and he

immediately entered into all the cabals of the country party. The parliament, though satisfied with the king's compliance, had not lost all apprehensions to which the measures of the court had given so much foundation. A law passed for imposing a *test* on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament in the established church, they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. The resolution for supply was carried into a law, as a recompence to the king for his concessions. A general pardon likewise and indemnity was passed, which screened the ministers from all farther inquiry. Though the king had for the time receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby tacitly relinquished the suspending power, he resolved still to persevere in his alliance with France in the Dutch war. The money granted by parliament sufficed to equip a fleet; the command of which was given to prince Rupert, the duke being set aside by the test. A French squadron joined them, commanded by d'Etrees. The combined fleets had an engagement with the Dutch on the twenty-eighth of May, and another on the 4th of June; but none of them were decisive. It is remarkable, that, during this war, the English, though superior to the Hollanders, were not able to gain any advantage over them; while, in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. Aug. 11th, The hostile fleets again met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the last battle for the superiority at sea, which, during the course of so many years, these maritime powers had disputed with each other. Blankert was opposed to d'Etrees, De Ruyter to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. The admirals last mentioned fought in this battle as if there were no mean between death and victory. The engagement was very close and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into great disorder. To increase it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and, at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down, which, if they had done,

done, a total victory must have ensued ; but they, adhering to that treacherous policy by which they had been actuated during the whole war, neglected the signal ; and the prince observing the most of his ships were in bad condition, made easy sail towards the English coast. The victory, as in all the actions fought during the present war, was doubtful ; the turn which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land was more favourable. The prince of Orange, having eluded all the French generals, joined his army to that of the Imperialists. Bonne was taken in a few days ; several other places of the Electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies, and Lewis was obliged to abandon his conquests with greater rapidity than he had at first made them.

Oct. 20.—The Parliament was now assembled, and discovered such increasing symptoms of illhumour, that they were soon prorogued. The king's necessities soon obliged him again to assemble them. Feb. 4. 1674. They began with applications for a general fast ; they addressed against the king's guards ; and made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whose pernicious councils they justly imputed all their present grievances. The king plainly saw that he could expect no supply from the commons, for carrying on a war which was so odious to them. A separate peace was therefore concluded with Holland ; the honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch, in the most extensive terms ; all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war, and the states agreed to pay to the king near 300,000*l*. Four days after the parliament was prorogued the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHARLES II. 1674.

IF we consider the projects of the famous cabal, it will be hard to determine whether the end which they proposed was more blamable, or the means by which they were to effect it more impolitic and imprudent. Instead of recovering the king's authority as they pretended, their intention could be no other than that of making him absolute. In prosecution of this plan, the assistance of France could never be depended on, as it would be Lewis's sole intention to raise incurable jealousies between the king and the people.

In all other respects the plans of the cabal appear equally absurd and incongruous. The conquest of Holland would have been an addition to the power of France; and, though the catholic religion is more proper than the protestant for supporting an absolute monarchy, yet was it folly to think of it as the means of acquiring arbitrary authority in England, where it was more detested than even slavery itself. The pliancy of the king's genius made him attend to these pernicious counsels, because he thought, that, after trying an experiment for enlarging his authority, he could easily, if it failed, return into the ordinary channel of government. But the suspicions of the people were by this attempt rendered altogether incurable. The king, sensible of this jealousy, though obliged to make a separate peace, still, as well as the duke of York, kept

kept up connections with the French monarch. As he was now at peace with all the world, he thought proper to offer his mediation to the contending powers; and, to give sanction to his new counsels, he appointed Temple ambassador to the states. That wise minister found the prince of Orange and the allies determined to carry on the war. The success of this campaign, however, had not answered their expectation. The prince of Orange was opposed in Flanders to the prince of Conde, who prevented him from penetrating into France by that quarter. An undecisive engagement took place between these generals at Senefse, and the only advantage gained by the prince of Orange during the campaign was the taking of Grave. The allies were not more successful in other places. Lewis reconquered Franche Comte. In Alsace, Turenne displayed his military skill, defeated the duke of Lorraine, and obliged the allies to repass the Rhine.

1675.—The parliament, lest they should attempt to engage the king in measures against France, met not till the approach of summer. In drawing up a new bill against popery, in presenting addresses against Lauderdale, and, in applying to the king for recalling his troops from the French service, they showed their disgust at the measures of the court. But a quarrel which ensued between the two houses prevented the passing all the bills projected during the present session. One Dr Shirley being cast in a law suit before the chancery, against Sir John Fag, a member of the house of commons, preferred a petition of appeal before the house of peers. The lords received it, and the commons complaining of a breach of privilege, sent Shirley to prison. No accommodation being likely to take place, the king prorogued the parliament, June 8th.

Oct. 13th, When the parliament were again assembled, there appeared not in any respect a change of the dispositions of either houses. They voted 300,000*l.* for the building of ships; but, when the affair of Shirley was revived, the king prorogued them to a very long term.

This campaign proved more fortunate to the confederates than any other during the whole war; the French, under the prince of Conde, passed the whole summer in Flanders, without any memorable event. Turenne opposed Montecuculi general of the imperialists on the upper Rhine. He laid his plans in so masterly a manner, that he not only prevented the Germans from penetrating into Alsace and Lorraine, but he must have obliged them to decamp in a few days, when a period was put to his illustrious life by a random shot. The news excited sorrow in the king, the court, and the people, equalled by nothing we meet with in history, but the lamentations of the Roman people for the death of Germanicus. The French immediately repassed the Rhine; and the prince of Conde, who succeeded to the command of this army, preserved Alsace. The allies succeeded in the siege of Treves; and the only advantage which the French gained during this summer was in an engagement at sea, where de Ruyter was killed.

1676.—The ambassadors from several of the contending powers, under the king's mediation, had met at Nimeguen; but no progress was made in the negotiation. Lewis, by laying up magazines during the winter, was able to take the field early in the spring. He took Conde in four days, and Bouchaine in the sight of the prince, who had come with an army to relieve it. About the beginning of winter, the congress of Nimeguen was pretty full; and, though the Hollanders, loaded with debts, and harassed with taxes, and wanting nothing but a good frontier to Flanders, were desirous of putting an end to the war, yet gratitude to their allies engaged them to try another campaign; and the prince of Orange endeavoured to keep them steady to this resolution. Charles, at this period, was, by every one at home and abroad, allowed to be the arbiter of Europe; but the fear of losing the friendship of France by advantageous terms to the allies, and the fear of enraging the parliament by a contrary conduct, held him in a state of doubt and fluctuation,

fluctuation, which prevented him from taking advantage of his situation.

Feb. 15. 1677.—The parliament was assembled, and after some previous business, they voted 586,000 l. for building thirty ships. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and an early session, when they were roused from this tranquillity by the news received from abroad; the French king had taken Valenciennes, Cambray, and St Omre. The prince of Orange also, in an attempt to relieve these places, was beat by Luxembourg, and obliged to retreat to Ypres; the parliament addressed the king, desiring that his majesty, by such alliance as he should think fit, would secure his own dominions, and the Spanish Netherlands. He informed them, unless they granted him the sum of 600,000 l., it would be impossible for him to speak of those things which would answer the end of the several addresses. In their replies, they showed an extreme distrust in his majesty. They promised, if he would form the necessary alliances, that sum, or a greater, would instantly be voted; and, instead of granting the supply, they voted an address, wherein they besought his majesty to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the states general of the United Provinces. The king pretended the highest anger at this address; he reproved the commons in very severe terms, and ordered them immediately to be adjourned.

Negotiations, meanwhile, were carried on between France and Holland; and all their differences were adjusted, provided they could afterward satisfy their allies on both sides. The king, strongly desirous by his natural temper to be easy himself, and to make every body else easy, among other expedients for appeasing the murmurs of his people, carried into effect the marriage of the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, and heir apparent to the crown. After this marriage, the king entered into consultations, together with Danby and Temple, concerning the terms which it would be proper to require of France. Lorrain was to be restored

to the duke, and all the towns which formed a good frontier for Flanders, to Spain. Charles farther agreed to send over Sir William Temple instantly to Paris to propose these terms, and to allow Lewis but two days for the acceptance or refusal of them; but next day he felt a relenting in this assumed vigour, and instead of Temple, he despatched the earl of Feversham, a creature of the duke's, and a Frenchman by birth. Lewis received the message with seeming gentleness and complacency. He well knew, he said, that the king of England was master of the peace, but he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns. He insisted chiefly on keeping Tournay. Feversham was detained some days beyond his appointment. Charles was softened; the prince, who had given spirit to the English court was gone; and the negociation began to draw out into messages and returns from Paris. By intervals, however, the king could show some firmness and resolution. Temple was sent for to the council, in order to go to Holland to form a treaty of alliance with the states, the purposes of which was to force both France and Spain to accept of the terms proposed. Temple finding this act of vigour qualified with such regard to France, declined the embassy. Laurence Hyde, second son to Clarendon, was sent in his place; and the states concluded the treaty in the terms proposed by the king.

Jan. 28. Meanwhile the English parliament met, and voted a fleet of ninety sail, an army of thirty-thousand men, and a million of money. They made at the same time great difficulties with regard to the army; and they appointed a day to consider the state of the kingdom with regard to popery. It was indeed difficult to say whether the king ever seriously meant to enter into war, or whether, if he did, the house of commons would not have taken advantage of his necessities to retrench his authority. Lewis took the field early in the spring, and, in a few weeks, made himself master of Ghent and Ypres. The king began to enlist forces, and an army of above 20,000, men, to the astonishment of all Europe, was completed in a few

few weeks. These vigorous measures received a damp from a passionate address of the lower house, praying the king to dismiss evil counsellors, and naming Lauderdale. This inclined the king to lend an ear to the proposals of the king of France, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to his making an advantageous peace with the allies. Temple, though pressed by the king, refused to have any concern in so dishonourable a negotiation. The Dutch ambassador, Van Beverning, procured a peace on terms much worse for the Spaniards than those planned by the king and the prince of Orange, six towns of no great importance were to be restored to them. Great murmurs arose in England; but the king, when the French ambassadors declared that these towns should not be delivered till the Swedes had received satisfaction, took this opportunity of appeasing the minds of his subjects, despatched Temple to Holland, who in six days concluded a treaty, by which Lewis, under the pain of a new war, was obliged to declare within sixteen days after the date that he would presently evacuate the towns. Every thing now wore the appearance of war; but Barillon the French Ambassador, who was admitted into all the amusements of the English monarch, procured from him in an unguarded hour an order which instantly changed the face of affairs in Europe. One du Croix was despatched to Temple, directing him to persuade the Swedish ambassador not to insist on the conditions required by France. Meanwhile, on the morning of the day which, by the late treaty between England and Holland, was to determine whether a sudden peace or a long war was to take place in christendom, the French ambassador came to Van Beverning, consented to the evacuation of the towns; and the latter having no reason to depend on England, concluded the treaty. Lewis had now reached that glory which ambition can afford. By this treaty he kept possession of many of the towns in Flanders; his ministers appeared as much superior to those of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been in the field; and, had

had England continued much longer under the same government, he could scarcely have failed of attaining the monarchy of Europe.

The king, in the management of Scots affairs, was endeavouring to gain the affections of the people, and compose religious differences. A scheme of comprehension was tried, by which it was proposed to diminish greatly the authority of the bishops; and a project of indulgence was adopted, admitting the expelled preachers to be settled in the vacant churches without any submission. Lauderdale was sent down commissioner to a new parliament, and carried two laws, by which the king had the absolute power both of the church and the militia.

1678.—In the subsequent session of the same parliament, a severe law was passed against conventicles. Several attempts were made to lessen the credit of Lauderdale with the king, by a powerful combination of the Scots nobility, but without effect. The private deportment of the minister was as insolent and provoking, as his public measures were oppressive. In the case of Mitchel, who was suspected of an attempt to assassinate archbishop Sharp, and who had confessed his intention before the privy council under the promise of pardon, Lauderdale, and the other counsellors, bore testimony on oath to his confession, but denied the promise of pardon. They were not perhaps aware that the clerk had engrossed the pardon in the narrative of Mitchel's confession, and that by this means their infamy is handed down to posterity. To such ministers did the king intrust the affairs of Scotland.

The rigours exercised against conventicles produced no good effect. The commonalty in the south and in the western counties generally frequented them. Lauderdale took advantage of a clause in the law, which, for the sake of a rhetorical flourish, called them seminaries of rebellion, and sent 8000 of the clans, and the Angus militia, to live on free quarters in these counties. To increase the misery of these unhappy people, none were received any where who
did

did not bring a certificate of his conformity from the parish ministers. Lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the throne, the council forbade, under high penalties, every nobleman or gentleman of property to leave the kingdom. And Charles, after a full hearing of the Scots affairs, said "I perceive Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things, but he has not acted in any thing contrary to my interest." A sentiment most unworthy of a monarch.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHARLES II.

THE English nation, ever since the false league with France, had apprehended some mysterious enterprise from that court, or from the Roman catholics. While in this timorous, jealous disposition, the cry of a plot all on a sudden struck their ears. One Kisby a chemist, in conjunction with Dr Tongue, endeavoured to persuade the king, from many pretended letters, that his life was in danger by the Jesuits. The matter, from some contradictions in the account, would probably have rested, if the duke, hearing that his own confessor was accused, had not desired a thorough inquiry. Kisby and Tongue were inquired after, and found to live in close habits with Titus Oates, the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tongue. This person, of the most abandoned character, and happy to be considered of sufficient importance to discover a plot, went with his

two companions to Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, a justice of the peace, to give evidence before him of all the articles of the conspiracy. The wonderful intelligence which Oates conveyed both to Godfrey and the council, and afterwards to the parliament, was a mass of incoherent evidence, containing pretended attempts on the king, changes in church and state, fires and assassinations, and the offer of the crown to the duke of York, all the contrivance of the Jesuits. Although Oates was convicted of many falsehoods in his examination, yet, were there many who paid great attention to his report, and a general terror was excited in the whole nation. In the narrative of Oates, he made frequent mention of Coleman, who had been secretary to the dukes of York, and who, partly on his own account, partly by orders from the duke, had been engaged in a correspondence with the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and with other catholics abroad. When Coleman was arrested, and his papers seized, there were found many extraordinary passages which increased the suspicion of the nation, and gave a sanction to Oates's evidence, because Coleman's plot and his were universally confounded.

The murder of Godfrey about this time, who was found lying in a ditch at Primrose-hill, served to complete the consternation among all ranks of men. Without further reasoning, the cry arose that he had been assassinated by the papists on account of taking Oates's evidence. All parties concurred in the illusion; and the city of London prepared for its defence as if the enemy were at its gates.

O^c. 21.—While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was assembled. In his speech the king mentioned the plot carried on against his life by the Jesuits, but said that he would leave the scrutiny of it to the law. He was anxious to keep the question of the plot from the parliament; but Danby his minister, who hated the catholics, opened the matter in the house of peers the very first day of the sessions.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other; and the lords and commons,
after

after hearing Oates's evidence, voted, "that there hath been, and still is a damnable and hellish plot against the king, the government, and the Protestant religion." Oates was recommended by the parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and received a pension of 12,00 l. a-year. It was not long before such bountiful encouragement brought forth new witnesses. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, gave intelligence of Godfrey's murder; and, though he denied any knowledge of the plot, yet next day he gave an ample account of it, agreeing as much as possible with Oates's narrative, and adding several tremendous circumstances, to give greater dignity to his evidence. The king, though he scrupled not, wherever he could use freedom, to throw the highest ridicule on the plot, yet found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion before the parliament. He told them therefore in a speech, that he would take the utmost care of his person; and, provided the right of succession was preserved, he would consent to any laws for restraining a popish successor. These gracious expressions abated nothing of their vehemence. A bill was introduced for a new test, excluding all catholics from both houses. The bill passed the commons without much opposition; but, in the upper house, the duke moved an exception in his own favour, which was carried by two voices. Oates and Bedloe were now so audacious as to accuse even the queen herself of entering into designs against her husband's life. The commons gave countenance to this accusation, but the lords would not join in the address; and Charles, though he bore no great affection to his consort, had the generosity to protect her. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife, but for all that I will not see an innocent woman abused."

Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower house, and, without asking the king's leave, he suddenly came over into England. He laid a letter from the treasurer Danby, written at the beginning of the year, during the negotiations at Niemeguen,

Nimeguen, in which he was directed to make a demand of money before the house of commons. The commons, inflamed with this intelligence, sent six articles of impeachment against Danby to the house of peers. They refused to commit Danby on the score of irregularity; and a contest being likely to arise between the two houses, Charles dissolved the parliament. This assembly, elected during the festivity of the restoration, consisted almost entirely of royalists; but the alliance with France had alarmed their suspicions, and the popish plot had pushed them beyond all bounds of moderation. Coleman, Father Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, were now tried on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, condemned and executed. One ~~Pence~~ a silver-smith, and a catholic, turned evidence along with Bedloe against the murderers of Godfrey; and Hill, Green, and Berry, all men of low station, were executed by this combination.

1679.—As the army could neither be kept up nor disbanded without money, the king found himself obliged to call a new parliament; and, by accounts which came from every part of England, it was concluded that the new members would exceed the old in opposition to the court, and persecution of the catholics.

Roused from this lethargy by so imminent a peril, the king began to exert that vigour of mind of which on great occasions he was not destitute. His first step towards appeasing the parliament, was desiring the duke of York to retire beyond seas; and the duke, after securing public satisfaction of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth, readily complied.

James duke of Monmouth was the king's natural son by Lucy Walton, and born ten years before the restoration. His manners were extremely popular; but his abilities, if he had not been wholly under Shaftesbury's direction, not dangerous. A report had been circulated that his mother's contract of marriage with the king was still preserved. But the king soon found he had nowise obtained the confidence of the parliament.

parliament. After shewing their spirit in the choice of a speaker, they proceeded with great vigour in Danby's impeachment. In the face of a pardon from the king, they still insisted on the privilege of impeaching; and the peers ordered Danby to be taken into custody. The popish plot, although no effectual discovery had been yet made, was with increasing violence brought before the throne. Rewards were held out to informers; and votes passed for the security of the king's person.

Sir William Temple had been lately recalled from his foreign employments, and the king made him one of the secretaries of state. By his advice a new council, consisting of thirty persons, was formed, the intention of which was to comprehend the heads of the popular party, of fifteen of the officers of the crown, and several of the independent and respectable members of both houses. The jealousy of the people, however, both against the king and duke, was not to be removed by so feeble an expedient. The commons, soon after the declaration of that council, proceeded to a vote, which evidently led to a vote for excluding the duke's succession. The king proposed restraints that deprived his successor of many of the most important branches of royalty. Shaftesbury and Temple opposed this measure in the council; the one being for nothing less than a total exclusion, and the other thinking the limitations dangerous to the constitution. The king's concession, by the cabals of Shaftesbury, were not embraced. A bill of exclusion was brought in, and passed in the lower house by a majority of seventy-five. This same house of commons, jealous of the crown, brought in a bill, which was read twice, excluding from the house all who possessed any lucrative office. Our security from arbitrary imprisonments we owe to the *habeas corpus* act which passed this session. The impeachment of five popish lords who had been confined in the Tower, with that of the earl of Danby, was prosecuted with great vigour. A difference arose between the two houses about the previous question of Danby's pardon,

don, in which the commons insisted that the bishops had no right to vote in this any more than in the earl's trial. The king laid hold on this as a favourable opportunity for proroguing the parliament; and, hearing they were preparing a violent remonstrance on the plot, he hastened, without the advice of his council, to execute his intention, and soon after dissolved them. The persecution of the catholics suspected of the plot went on during the recess of parliament, and five Jesuits were condemned and executed. But the success of the informers received a check on the acquittal of Sir George Wakeman the queen's physician, who thought it prudent in the present state of mens minds to retire beyond seas, and his flight was imputed to him as a proof of guilt. The discontents in England excited the hopes of the Scots covenanters; and it was suspected that Lauderdale pushed these unhappy men to extremity with a view of reaping profit by their rebellion. The covenanters, much enraged against Sharp the primate, intended to punish one Carmichael, an officer under him, for his officious zeal against conventicles. While a company of these way-laid this person with an intention of beating him severely, they fell upon the archbishop's coach, dragged him from the arms of his daughter, and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot.

This atrocious action served the ministry as a pretence for a more violent persecution against the covenanters; and officers quartered in the west received more strict orders to suppress all conventicles. Captain Graham, afterwards viscount of Dundee, an active officer, attacked a conventicle upon Loudon-hill, and was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. The covenanters finding that they were thus unwarily involved in rebellion, entered Glasgow, and dispossessed all the established clergy. But the king having despatched some forces against them under Monmouth, they were defeated at Bothwel-bridge, between Hamilton and Glasgow.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CHARLES II. 1679.

WHEN the first fury excited by the popish plot was abated, there was found to be a considerable party in the nation strongly attached to the king's person. Though not endowed with the integrity and strict principles of his father, he was happy in a more amiable manner, and more popular address. Far from being distant, stately, or reserved, he was the most affable best bred man alive. The general affection which was borne him, appeared very signally * about this time; and, following an expression of Sir William Temple, the king's death would have been regarded by the nation as the end of the world. His chief counsellors advised him to send secretly for the duke; but, when he arrived, he found his brother out of danger; and, after having prevailed on the king to disgrace Monmouth, he returned to Brussels. He soon after obtained leave to retire to Scotland, under pretence of quieting the minds of the English, but with the purpose of securing that kingdom in his interest. About this time the king, without the advice of his council, and in order to try whether time would allay the violent humours of the nation, prorogued the parliament.

1680.—Great

* During a fit of sickness with which he was seized.

1680.— Great endeavours were used to obtain the king's consent for the meeting of that assembly; petitions were presented by seventeen peers, and many of the corporations imitated this example. A considerable part of the nation were against these petitions; and thus arose the names of *petitioners* and *abhorrrers*. This year is remarkable for being the epoch of the epithets of *whig* and *tory*. As the kingdom was regularly divided into two zealous parties, it was not difficult for the king to know that the majority of the new house of commons was in opposition to the court; but, that he might leave no expedient untried, he resolved to assemble the parliament. In his speech, he informed them of an alliance with Spain, of the farther examination of the popish plot, and the punishment of the criminals; and finally recommended peace and harmony, as most honourable to themselves, and affording the greatest security to the nation. All his mollifying expressions had no influence on the commons. They voted that it was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the king, and seized and committed to custody great numbers of the abhorrrers in all parts of England. But the chief violence of the commons appeared in all their transactions against the popish plot. They expelled two members who had said there was no popish plot, but a presbyterian one. The whole tribe of informers they applauded and rewarded; and recommended Dr Tongue for the first considerable church living which should become vacant.

The principal reasons which still supported the clamours of the popish plot, were the apprehensions so justly entertained of the duke of York. Although Shaftesbury and the leading men of his party had formed great hopes, yet the king would never be prevailed on to desert his friends, and put himself into the hands of his enemies. The concessions which he had formerly made, he offered over and over again; and was perhaps pleased to find them rejected by the obstinacy of the commons. So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremity, that in less than a week after the commencement of the

the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. This bill, after much reasoning, was carried in the house of commons, but rejected by a considerable majority in the house of peers. Halifax chiefly conducted the debate against it; and, animated as well by the greatness of the occasion, as by a rivalry to his uncle Shaftesbury, displayed the greatest eloquence and capacity. The commons discovered much ill humour on this occasion; and, when the king applied for money to enable him to defend Tangiers, they voted a remonstrance, wherein the whole grievances of the reign were particularly enlarged on. The impeachment of the catholic Lords in the tower was revived; and Stafford, whom they esteemed the least capable to defend himself, they determined to make the first victim. Stafford made a much better defence than was expected; but he fell a sacrifice to the violence of the times, and to the perjury of those witnesses who were encouraged by the popular party. His death, however, did infinite prejudice to their cause. The populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were now melted into tears, at the sight of that tender fortitude which shone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent, of this aged nobleman. With difficulty they found speech to assent to the protestations of his innocence. "We believe, you my Lord! God bless you, my Lord!" were uttered with a faltering accent.

The commons still expected, from the king's urgent necessities, and his usual facility, that he would throw himself wholly into their hands. They therefore, besides insisting on the exclusion, proceeded to bring in bills of a very important nature. To renew the triennial act, and to order an association, for the preservation of the king, and the protestant religion, and for excluding the duke of York, seem to have been the chief object of these bills. They passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters; and this laudable bill also passed the house of peers.

As the king, from the rejection of the exclusion bill, might now reasonably depend on the house of peers,
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and as there remained no hopes of bringing the commons to any composition, he came secretly to a resolution of proroguing them, and soon after dissolved them.

1681.—The commons passed several votes immediately before the prorogation, which discovered an attempt of indirectly forming an association against the crown; and it was high time for the king to dissolve a parliament which entertained such dangerous projects. But, soon after, in prosecution of his scheme of trying every expedient to form an accommodation with the commons, he summoned another to meet at Oxford. Monmouth, and fifteen peers, on pretence that they would not be in safety, presented a petition against assembling a parliament at this place. The leaders came to parliament attended, not only with their servants, but with numerous bands of their partizans. The king had his guards regularly mustered; and the assembly at Oxford had more the appearance of a Polish diet, than an English parliament.

March 21st—The king addressed this parliament in a more authoritative manner than usual. Among other expressions, he told them, that he now afforded them another opportunity of providing for the public safety, and to all the world had given one evidence more, that, on his part, he had not neglected the duty incumbent on him. The commons were not over-awed with the magisterial air of the king's speech. They fell instantly into the same measures with the last parliament, and discovered that no other method but that of excluding the duke should give them any satisfaction.

About this time, one Fits-Harris, an Irish catholic, was apprehended by Sir William Waller for writing a furious libel against the king. Finding himself delivered over to the law, he resolved to pay court to the popular party, and commenced a discoverer of the great popish plot. He declared that the duke was privy to the whole plan, both of murdering the king, and of destroying the constitution. The king had removed him from the city prison to the Tower, and had ordered him to be prosecuted at common law. In order to prevent his trial, an impeachment was voted by the

the commons against him, and sent up to the lords. The lords voted to remit the affair to the ordinary courts of judicature. The commons maintained that the lords were obliged to receive every impeachment from them. Great heats were likely to ensue; and the king gladly laid hold on this quarrel as an opportunity for dissolving the parliament. This vigorous measure deprived the country party of all spirit, and reduced them to absolute despair. They were now sensible that the king had finally taken his resolution, that he had engaged a national party on his side, and that no parliaments would be summoned for some years. The nation appeared to be running fast into voluntary servitude, and the violence of the exclusionists was every where exclaimed against. Notwithstanding the expressions of obedience, the king was resolved not for a long time to trust the people with a new election, but to depend entirely on his economy for alleviating his necessities.

The first step taken by the court was the trial of Fitts-Harris; and, though he now retracted all his former impostures with regard to the popish plot, he was brought in guilty of treason by the jury, and executed. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, and informers, who had been employed by the leading patriots, now turned short upon their old patrons; and, to the disgrace of the court, received a hearty welcome from the ministers. The first person on whom their vengeance fell, was one College, a London joiner, much connected with Shaftesbury and the leaders of the country party. He had been in Oxford, armed with sword and pistol, during the sitting of the parliament; and this was the foundation of his crime. College defended himself with spirit, courage, capacity, presence of mind, and invalidated the evidence of the crown by the most convincing arguments, and the most undoubted testimony; yet did the jury bring in a verdict against him.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHARLES II. 1681.

THE duke of Ormond, although always attached to the royal cause, had been much neglected by Charles. In 1677, when Charles found it his interest to shew favour to the old royalists, Ormond, together with the government of Ireland, recovered his former credit and authority; his administration was correspondent to the general tenor of his life; he increased the revenue to 300,000 pounds a-year; he maintained a regular army and militia; and, without severity against the catholics, he sufficiently protected the protestant interest. As there was no appearance of a plot in Ireland, where the catholics were ten to one, the country party published rewards to any that would bring intelligence, or become witnesses; and some profligates were sent over to that kingdom, with a commission to seek out evidence against the catholics. A certain Fitz-Gerald, and several others, men possessed neither of character to gain belief, nor sense to invent a falsehood, were sent over to England. On their testimony, the Oxford parliament voted that they were entirely satisfied in the reality of the horrid and damnable Irish plot.

After the dissolution of the parliament, Shaftesbury's evidences gave information of high treason against their former patron. He was committed to prison, and his indictment was presented to the grand jury; who, af-

ter weighing all the circumstances, rejected it, to the infinite satisfaction of the people who attended, and the whole city.

About this time a scheme of more flagrant oppression was laid in Scotland. The Earl of Argyle had distinguished himself from his youth by his loyalty and attachment. The king had remitted him his father's forfeiture. But a test, which the duke carried in the Scots parliament, in favour of the king's supremacy, was taken by Argyle, with an explanation which he subjoined in the duke's presence, and which was received with apparent good humour. He was much surprised, a few days after, that this explanation was made the foundation of a trial against him, by which he was to forfeit his honours, life, and fortune. A jury of fifteen noblemen gave sentence against him. But it was pretended by the duke, that matters were carried this length to make him renounce some hereditary jurisdiction in the Highlands. He made his escape from prison; and, till he should find a ship for Holland, concealed himself in London.

1682.—As the king was master in England, he permitted the duke to pay him a visit, and was soon after prevailed on to allow of his return to England, and of his bearing a part of the administration.

The duke, during his abode in Scotland, had won much on the gentry and nobility; but his treatment of the enthusiasts was still somewhat rigorous. He left his authority in the hands of the earls of Aberdeen and Queensbury, who renewed in the most arbitrary manner the former cruelties. Above 2000 persons were outlawed, on pretence of their having intercourse with the rebels. It was usual to put ensnaring questions to people concerning the covenant, the rising at Bothwell, and the murder of Sharp; and, when the deluded creatures refused to answer, capital punishment was inflicted on them.

Though the king's authority made every day great advances, it still met with considerable obstacles. The juries named by the sheriffs were likely to take the side of the people. But the lord mayor, gained by secre-

rary Jenkins, found means to get both the sheriffs elected of the court party, and, by this means, the country party were dislodged from their strong holds in the city.

1683.—But though the crown had gained so great a victory, the contest might be renewed every year at the election of the magistrates. A writ of *quo warranto* was therefore issued against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of their charter. This inquiry was founded on a toll which they had imposed on all goods brought to the market, and on some expressions in their petition against the prorogation of parliament, (1679), and their charter was taken away. After sentence was pronounced, they applied, in a very humble manner, to the king, and he restored the charter, but under such limitations as placed the whole power of the city in the crown. While so great a faction adhered to the crown, all wise men saw no expedient but to submit peaceably to the grievances. A party of malecontents, however, had meditated plans of resistance. The duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, lord Grey, instigated by the restless Shaftesbury, had engaged their friends in the west, in Cheshire, Devonshire, and Bristol, to excite an insurrection. Shaftesbury, impatient at several necessary delays, had taken a view of the guards, and declared an attempt against them practicable; adding, that he had 10,000 *brisk boys* in the city, who, on a motion of his finger, were ready to fly to arms. Monmouth, and the other conspirators, were for some time apprehensive that despair would push him into some violent measures; but at last, abandoning all hopes of success, he retired into Holland, and died soon after.

The conspirators, after his departure, entered into engagements with Argyle and the Scots malecontents, and the dangerous experiment of an insurrection was fully resolved on. While this affair was carrying on, an inferior order of conspirators were conducting a plot against the king's person, known by the name of the Ryehouse plot. When this plot was discovered, one Rumsey, an actor in it, gave information against Shephard,

Shephard, in whose house Monmouth and the conspirators had held their meetings. Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Howard was taken, and scrupled not, in hopes of a pardon, to reveal the whole conspiracy. Essex, Sidney, and Hambden, were immediately apprehended on his evidence. Rumsey, Shephard, and lord Howard, were the witnesses produced against lord Russel; and, though the laws of treason were perverted in one instance, and only lord Howard, a single witness, in another, yet the jury, after a short deliberation, brought in the prisoner guilty. Applications were made to the king for a pardon; even money, to the amount of 100,000 pounds, was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by Russel's father without effect. His consort, a woman of great merit, threw herself at the king's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits of her father, the earl of Southampton, in behalf of her husband. These supplications were the last instance of female weakness, which she betrayed. She afterwards collected courage, and endeavoured, by her example, to strengthen the resolution of her unfortuate lord. With a tender and decent composure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. *The bitterness of death is now past*, (said he) *when he turned from her*. He died with dignity and composure.

Algernon Sidney was next brought to his trial. This gallant person entered deeply into the war against the late king; he opposed Cromwel's usurpation with zeal and courage; and, at the Restoration, he chose voluntary banishment rather than take any benefit of the general indemnity. But, in 1677, finding it necessary, for his private affairs, he obtained the king's pardon, and returned to England. The only witness who deposed against Sidney was lord Howard; but, as the law required two, they fell on the iniquitous expedient of substituting some papers found in his closet in the place of a witness. The execution of Sidney is one of the greatest blemishes of the present reign. As Howard was the sole evidence against Hambden, the indictment was laid only for misdemeanors, and the ex-

orbitant sum of 40,000 pounds was the fine imposed. On the day that Russel was tried, Essex, a man eminent both for virtues and abilities, was found in the Tower with his throat cut. About this time Oates, convicted of having called the duke a popish traitor, was fined to the amount of 100,000 pounds, and confined to prison till he should make payment.

The duke of Monmouth had absconded on the first discovery of the conspiracy, and the court could get no intelligence of him. At last, Halifax, apprehensive of the duke's interest, discovered his retreat, and got him recalled. The king having promised that his testimony should never be employed against any of his friends, engaged him to give a full account of the plot. Monmouth finding that this step had entirely disgraced him with his party, employed his emissaries to deny that he had made any such confession. The king, provoked at this conduct, banished him his presence, and afterwards ordered him to depart the kingdom.

1684.—The king endeavoured to increase his present popularity by every art; and, for this purpose, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the lady Ann, to prince George brother to the king of Denmark; but all the credit and persuasion of Halifax could not engage him to call a parliament; and the duke also obstructed this proposal.

The peace of Nimeguen had disjoined the whole confederacy; and all the powers engaged in it had disbanded their troops. Lewis alone still maintained a very powerful army; and Charles, the only monarch in Europe capable of opposing his progress, had, since he dismissed his parliament, dropped his alliance with Spain, and returned to his former dangerous connections with France. The Turks were preparing to invade the emperor; and Lewis lost this opportunity of making himself master of Europe, which he was never afterwards able to recal.

1685.—The French greatness, never, during his whole reign, inspired Charles with any apprehensions; the country faction was totally subdued; he had recovered his former popularity in the nation; but, amidst
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all these promising circumstances, he was not happy nor satisfied. Perhaps the want of money, or the violent imprudent temper of the duke, gave him uneasiness. He was overheard to say one day in opposing some of the duke's councils, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels; you may if you choose." He was meditating, it is thought, some change of measures, when he was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy, and which carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. A little before his death he received the sacrament from a Roman-catholic priest, accompanied with all the rites of the Romish church. Charles, considered as a companion, appears the most amiable and engaging of men. His wit, to use the expression of one who knew him well, was a plain, gaining, well-bred, recommending kind of wit. In the duties of private life his conduct was in the main laudable. As a sovereign, his character, though not altogether void of virtues, was dangerous to his people, and dishonourable to himself. Negligent of the interest of the nation, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty, lavish of its treasure, sparing only of its blood, he exposed it, by his measures, though he appeared ever but in sport, to the danger of a furious civil war, and to the ignominy of a foreign conquest.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

JAMES II.

THE first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy council, and declare his resolution of maintaining the established government, both in church and state. And no sooner was this intention made public, than the nation expressed their full confidence in the king, in addresses from all quarters, full of duty, and even adulation. The first exercise of his authority, however, showed either he was not sincere, or that his sincerity would be of no service. The customs, and part of the excise, which had been voted during the late king's life, James immediately seized as his lawful revenue. The king likewise went openly to mass, and even sent Caryle as his agent to Rome to make submission to the pope. It was thought, on, his accession, that he would hold the balance of power more steadily than his predecessor; but the projects he had formed for promoting the catholic religion in England laid him under the necessity of preserving peace with the French monarch.

However little inclination the king, or his priests might bear to an English parliament, it was necessary,

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at the beginning of his reign, to summon that assembly. The returns were almost entirely of the zealous Tories, and churchmen; and, in the speech which the king made them, he discovered that he was resolved to consult them, from time to time, if they were submissive, but that he had resources in his own prerogative if they were refractory. The first question of importance before them was the settlement of the king's revenue; and, after thanks for the king's speech, they voted the present king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king at the time of his decease. This grant amounted, on the whole, to about 600,000 pounds a year.

A little before the meeting of parliament, Oates was tried for perjury, on two indictments. His sentence was to be fined 2000 merks, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried four times every year. He survived the execution of this sentence, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a pension settled on him of 400 pounds a-year.

Monmouth, when ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired into Holland, and all marks of distinction were bestowed on him by the prince of Orange. After the accession of James, the prince thought proper to dismiss him, and he returned to Brussels. Finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he was pushed, contrary to his own judgment, to make a rash and premature attempt on England. Though on his landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, he had scarce an hundred followers, yet, in a few days, his numbers had increased to 6000 men. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome, and was proclaimed in all those places. Feversham and Churchill were dispatched, with 3000 men, in order to check the progress of the rebels. A battle ensued, in which, owing to the misconduct of Monmouth, and the cowardice of Grey, who commanded the horse, the rebels were totally defeated. Monmouth himself was taken prisoner, condemned, and executed. Such arbitrary principles had the court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately

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diately after the victory, hanged up about twenty prisoners, without any legal trial ; and colonel Kirke, as if to make sport with death, ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink to the king's health, or to the queen's, or to judge Jefferies. All the inhabitants of that country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian ; and, that the cup of their sufferings might be full, Jefferies, armed with the rigours of law, succeeded to the licentiousness of the army. This man set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. At Dorchester, twenty-nine out of thirty were found guilty, and sent to immediate execution. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors, Mrs Gaunt and lady Lisle, were accused for harbouring rebels ; and, though it appeared to be from motives of compassion and charity alone, they were condemned by the unrelenting Jefferies, and both executed.

The Scots parliament, at this period, were lost to all sense of liberty. In a vote, which they called an offer of duty, they acknowledged that all their monarchs had been vested with a solid and absolute authority. Nothing could equal the abject servility of the Scottish nation, but the arbitrary severity of the administration. Argyle, in concert with Monmouth, made an attempt to excite his countrymen to shake off the yoke ; but his forces were dispersed, and himself taken and executed on his former sentence.

The king was so elated with his prosperity, that he began to under-value an English parliament, at all times formidable to his family. He told the two houses, that militia were perfectly useless ; and he demanded a supply to maintain the additional forces which he had levied. He also told them, that he had employed several catholic officers, and that, in their favours, he had dispensed with the law requiring the test. On this occasion, the commons shewed some appearance of the spirit of Englishmen. They voted, in the most humble terms, an address to the king against the dispensing power ; but they were soon awed into obedience.

diënce. The next opposition came from the house of peers, and one from the bench of bishops. The bishop of London voted that a day should be appointed for taking the king's speech into consideration; and the motion prevailed. The king might have presumed that the peers would be finally brought to submit; but, so imperious and lofty were his spirit and ideas of prerogative, that, without waiting for any other provocation, he immediately proceeded to prorogue the parliament; and, after having tried in vain to subdue the spirit of the leading members, he dissolved them.

1686.—The king's next attempt was to establish the dispensing power, by a verdict of the judges. Sir Edward Hales, a new proselyte, had accepted a commission of colonel; and directions were given to his coachman to prosecute him for the sum of 500 pounds, which the law, establishing the test, had granted to informers. This cause was regarded with such anxiety by the public, that it was thoroughly discussed in several elaborate discourses. The people had entertained such violent prepossessions against the use which James had made of the prerogative, that he was obliged, before he brought on Hales's cause, to displace four of the judges, and even Sir Edward Herbert, though a man of acknowledged virtue. But, in whatever manner the dispensing power might be defended, the nation thought it dangerous, if not fatal to liberty. And it was not likely, that an authority which had been assumed through so many obstacles, would, in his hands, lie unemployed. Four catholic lords were brought into the privy council. The king was open as well as zealous in making converts; and men plainly saw that the only way of acquiring his affection was by a sacrifice of their religion.

But it was in Ireland chiefly the mask was taken off. The duke of Ormond was recalled, and the whole power lodged in the hands of Talbot, soon after created earl of Tyrconnel, a man furiously attached to the catholic religion.

On the first broaching of the popish plot, the church

of England had concurred in the prosecution of it ; but, dreading afterward the prevalence of presbyterian principles, they supported the measures of the court ; and to their assistance James had chiefly owed his succession to the crown. Finding that all these services were forgot, the church had commenced an opposition to court measures. And particularly Dr Sharp, a clergyman of London, affected to throw great contempt on those who had been induced to change their religion, by the pitiful arguments of the Romish missionaries. The bishop of London received positive orders to suspend Sharp ; and, when the prelate could not possibly obey these commands, the king appointed ecclesiastical commissioners, with full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. By a majority of this arbitrary and hated court, the bishop, as well as the doctor, was suspended. After this, the king pretended to colour over his designs, by suspending all the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Finding himself opposed by the church, he imagined that, by courting the dissenters, and playing one party against another, he would easily obtain the victory over both. But his general conduct, his incapacity for this refined policy, and his inconsistencies in executing the scheme, rendered it altogether ineffectual. The violent and precipitant conduct of affairs in Ireland, under Tyrconnel, now lord lieutenant, afforded the most alarming prospect. The catholics were placed in all offices of power and authority ; and Tyrconnel had even formed a scheme for calling a parliament, in order to screen the act of settlement, and empower the king to bestow all the lands of Ireland on his catholic subjects.

The king was not contented with discovering his folly in his own kingdom. He was resolved that all Europe should be witness of it. He sent publicly an ambassador to Rome, to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. The pope, concluding that a scheme, conducted with such indiscretion could never be successful, treated the ambassador with great neglect, and

and, in return, only sent a nuncio, who openly resided at London during this reign.

The power of the crown was at this time so great, and the revenue managed by James's frugality so considerable, that, if he had embraced any rational party, he might have carried his authority to what extent he pleased. But the catholics, to whom he had entirely devoted himself, was not the hundredth part of the people. Meanwhile, he had made great advances towards the establishment of that religion. The whole power in Ireland had been committed to the catholics. All the members in Scotland were new converts; and every great office in England, civil and military, was gradually transferred from the protestants. Nothing now remained but to open the door in the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics. The president of Magdalane College in Oxford, dying about this time, a royal mandate was sent in favour of Farmer, a new convert. The fellows of the college chose Dr Hough, a man capable of maintaining the rights of the university. An inferior ecclesiastical commissioner was sent down. Farmer, on inquiry, was found guilty of the lowest and most scandalous vices. A new mandate, therefore, was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of profligate character, but who atoned for his vices by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows, persisting in their choice, were expelled the college, and Parker was put in possession of the office.

1688.—The king published a declaration of indulgence, and subjoined an order, that, immediately after divine service, it should be read by the clergy in all churches. As this was acknowledging the suspending power, against which they had declared their opposition, six prelates met privately with the primate, and concerted the form of a petition to the king, in which they besought him that he would not insist on their reading that declaration. This was construed into a seditious libel; the bishops were committed to the tower; and the lawyers instructed to prosecute them. Twenty-nine temporal peers attended the prisoners to Westminster-hall;

Westminster-hall ; and such crowds of gentry followed the procession, that scarce any room was left for the populace to enter. When the verdict *not guilty* was pronounced by the jury, the intelligence was echoed through the hall, was conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and was propagated with infinite joy throughout the kingdom. A few days before the victory of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This event was extremely agreeable to the catholics ; and, in proportion, increased the disgust of the protestants. Calumny even went so far as to ascribe to the king the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and, after his death, support the catholic religion in his dominions.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

JAMES II. 1688.

THE prince of Orange, ever since his marriage with the lady Mary, had maintained a very prudent conduct. He made it a maxim to concern himself very little in English affairs, and never, by any measures, to disgust any of the factions, or give umbrage to the prince, who filled the throne. Ever active against the ambition of Lewis, he formed a project of uniting Europe in one general league against the encroachments
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of France. The emperor and Spain were enraged by repeated injuries; and the city of Amsterdam, and other towns in Holland, which were formerly in connection with Lewis, were so much terrified with the accounts of his prosecutions against the Hugonots, that they dropt all private factions, and entered into an entire confidence with the prince of Orange. James, though more prone to bigotry, was more sensible to his own and national glory than his brother. He professed therefore his willingness to oppose the progress of the French arms, provided his son-in-law would declare in favour of the repeal of the penal statutes, and the test act. A more tempting offer could not be made to a person of his enterprising character; but, though he agreed to the repeal of the penal statutes, by which the nonconformists, as well as the catholics, were exposed to punishment, he would by no means give his consent to the repeal of the test, which he esteemed a security absolutely necessary for the established religion. When this refusal was published in England, it tended wonderfully to unite the protestants in their opposition to the encroachments of the catholics.

The prince, at the same time, convinced that the men of education in England were retained in their religion more by honour than principle, and afraid that a few conspicuous examples might lead a great many of them to a communion so zealously patronized by the sovereign, took every prudent measure to attach the protestants to his interest; and he succeeded so well, that the different parties in England cast their eyes on him as their deliverer from those dangers with which their religion and liberty were nearly threatened. Many of the most considerable persons, both in church and state, made secret applications to the prince, and, though there remained some reasons which retained all parties in awe, and kept them from breaking out into immediate violence, yet the prince was secretly carrying on his preparations. Under other pretences he had made a considerable augmentation to the Dutch fleet; and the governor of the Spanish Netherlands,

Netherlands, the electors of Brandenburg, and Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, agreed to replace the troops employed against England. Meanwhile, the preparations of the Dutch, and their allies, seemed intended merely for their own defence against the enterprises of Lewis.

All the artifices, however, of the prince could not conceal his real intentions from the sagacity of the French court. Lewis informed James of his danger, and offered to join a squadron to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops he should deem requisite for his security. When this proposal was rejected, he again offered to raise the siege of Philippsbourg, to march into the Netherlands, and, by the terror of his army, detain the Dutch forces in their own country. This proposal met with no better reception. The king, after an unsuccessful attempt to introduce Irish recruits into his regiments, made trial of their disposition in a manner still more undisguised. His intention was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to agree to the repeal of the test and penal statutes. The mayor of Litchfield drew out the battalion before the king, and told them that they were required to enter into his majesty's views in these particulars, or lay down their arms. The whole battalion, except two captains, and a few popish soldiers, immediately embraced the latter part of the alternative. The king remained for some time speechless; but having recovered from his astonishment, he commanded them to take up their arms, adding "that for the future he would not do them the honour to ask their advice." While the king was dismayed with these general symptoms of dissatisfaction, the marquis of Abbeville, his minister at the Hague, informed him, with certainty, that he was soon to look for a powerful invasion from Holland. His eyes were now opened, and he found himself on the brink of a frightful precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from him. His ministers, equally astonished with himself, saw no resource but in a sudden retraction from all those measures which had procured him so many

many enemies. He paid court to the Dutch. He replaced in all counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and penal laws: He restored the charters of London, and of all the corporations: He annulled the courts of ecclesiastical commission. He took off the bishop of London's suspension. He reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalene College. All these measures were regarded as symptoms of fear, not of repentance. Meanwhile, the declaration of the prince of Orange, in which all the grievances of the nation were enumerated, was dispersed over the kingdom, and met with universal approbation. His sole aim, he said, was to have a legal and free parliament summoned, who might provide for the safety and liberty of the nation; and the force which he intended to bring with him he declared to be totally disproportioned to any views of conquest.

So well concerted were the prince's measures, that, in three days, above four hundred transports were hired; the armies fell down the rivers and canals of Nimeguen; and the prince set sail from Helvoet-fluice, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men; and, after having encountered a storm, which drove him back, he had a prosperous voyage, and landed his army in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason. The Dutch army marched first to Exeter, and the prince's declaration was there published. All England was in commotion; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection, which, from the general spirit of the nation, not from any particular reason, had crept into the army. Lord Colchester was the first officer who deserted, with a few of his troops, to the prince. Lord Coinbury carried off a considerable part of three regiments of cavalry; and Lord Churchill, who owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty, deserted, and

and carried along with him the duke of Grafton, and some troops of dragoons. When the king received the fatal news at Salisbury, the head quarters of the army, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London. Lady Churchill had an entire ascendant over the family of prince George of Denmark, and she prevailed on that prince, and the princess Ann, to withdraw themselves from the king. James burst into tears when the first intelligence of this event was conveyed to him. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!" The present aspect of public affairs, the spirit of the nation, and the advice of Barillon the French ambassador, so far wrought on the fears of the queen, and the popish courtiers, and above all on the priests, that they thought it expedient, for the king's safety, and requisite for retarding the public settlement, that he should retire from the kingdom. The general disaffection, of which he had every day more alarming proofs, made him precipitately embrace the resolution of withdrawing to France; and he sent off before hand the queen and the infant prince. He himself disappeared in the night time, and made the best of his way to a ship that waited for him at the mouth of the river. As if this measure had not been the most grateful to his enemies of any which he could adopt, he had carefully concealed his intention from all the world. By this temporary dissolution of government, the populace were now master; and there was no disorder, which, during the present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult, and destroyed all mass-houses. Jeffries, the chancellor, who had disguised himself in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused that he died in a short time afterwards. In this extremity, the bishops and peers who were in town, chose the marquis of Halifax their speaker; gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city; issued orders to the fleet and army, which were readily obeyed; and made applications to the prince, whose enter-
prize

prize they applauded, and whose success they congratulated. In the present trepidation of the people, a rumour arose that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and had commenced an universal massacre of all the protestants in England. This ridiculous belief was rapidly spread over the kingdom, and made the prince's approach to London still more welcome.

While every one, either from principle, interest, or animosity, turned their back on the unhappy king, who had abandoned his own cause, the unwelcome news arrived, that he had been seized at Feversham, while he was making his escape in disguise. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince sent Zuylestein, with orders that the king should approach no nearer than Rochester; but the message came too late. He was already arrived in London, where the populace, moved by compassion, and actuated by their own levity, had received him with shouts and acclamations. Nothing remained for the now ruling powers but to deliberate how they should dispose of his person. It was determined to push him into the measure of retreating into France, which, of himself, he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. Lord Feversham, sent on a civil message to the prince, was put in arrest, under pretence of his wanting a passport. The English guards about the king were displaced, and Dutch guards took possession of Whitehall. A message was brought from the prince, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale's. He desired permission, which was easily granted, of retiring to Rochester, where, having lingered some days, he privately embarked on board a frigate, and arrived safely at Ambleteuse, whence he hastened to St Germain's. Lewis received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard. Thus ended the reign of a prince, irreproachable in his private conduct, but wanting a due regard to the religion and constitution of his country.

The peers and bishops, to the number of ninety, together with all the members who had sat in the house
of

of commons during any parliament of Charles II. now made an address to the prince, desiring him to summon a convention by circular letters; and to assume, in the mean time, the management of all public affairs.

1689.—When the convention was assembled, it immediately appeared that the house of commons were mostly chosen from among the whig party. A memorable vote was, in a few days, passed, and sent up to the house of peers, for their concurrence. The substance of it was, that king James the Second had endeavoured to subvert the constitution, had abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant. The lords substituted the word *deserted*, in place of abdicated; and it was carried to omit the last article with regard to the vacancy of the throne. The commons still insisted on this vote, and sent up reasons why the lords should depart from their amendments. The lords were not convinced; but the perseverance of the lower house obliged them to comply.

The prince, meanwhile, discovered in his whole conduct great moderation and magnanimity. He entered into no intrigues, either with the electors or with the members; and he kept himself in a total silence, as if he had been nowise concerned in these transactions. At last, however, he called together Halifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and a few more, and told them that it belonged to the parliament now chosen to concert measures for the public settlement, and he pretended not to interpose in their determinations: That he heard of several schemes for establishing the government: That, if they chose to settle a regent he had no objection; only he would not be the regent: That, if they were desirous of bestowing the crown on the princess, although he esteemed her merit highly, he would rather remain a private person than enjoy a crown, which must depend on the will or life of another. These views of the prince were seconded by the princess herself; and the princess Anne concurring in the same plan of public settlement, the convention passed a bill, wherein they settled the crown on the prince and princess of Orange, the sole administration

to remain in the prince. The convention annexed to this settlement of the crown a declaration of rights, wherein the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed, and more exactly defined than in any former period of the English government.

The prince, who was then in France, was informed of the declaration of rights, and of the settlement of the crown on his son, and he was extremely pleased with the measures taken for the security of the Protestant religion, and the liberty of the subject. He was also informed that the convention had annexed to the settlement of the crown a declaration of rights, wherein the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed, and more exactly defined than in any former period of the English government.

F I N I S

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